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Security Council

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Provisional

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Friday, 21 April 1995, 3 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Vondra	(Czech Republic)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Nkgowe
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Graf Zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 13 April 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/302)

95-85333 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 13 April 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/1995/302)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Muhamed Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The President: I have also received a request dated 21 April 1995 from Ambassador Dragomir Djokic to address the Council. With the consent of the Council, I would propose to invite him to address the Council in the course of the discussion of the item before it.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1995/302, which contains the text of a letter dated 13 April 1995 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the report of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/319, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1995/301, letter dated 13 April 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1995/309, letter dated 15 April 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

In accordance with the decision taken earlier in the meeting, I now invite Ambassador Dragomir Djokic to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Djokic: At the outset, let me express on behalf of my Government profound condolences to the United States on the occasion of the tragic event that occurred in Oklahoma City, in which innocent citizens were victims of an outrageous terrorist act.

The Security Council is about to reach a decision on the further extension of the partial and very limited suspension of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Despite consistently positive reports by the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) and the ICFY Mission that Yugoslavia is adhering to the unilateral commitment to close its border with the Bosnian Serbs, and despite the well-known fact that it has absolutely and completely fulfilled all the provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions by which the sanctions were introduced, we note with regret that once again the Security Council cannot muster the political will to make a bolder decision and lift the sanctions against Yugoslavia altogether.

This negative stand is indeed highly unfortunate, because by opting to lift the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia the Council would be making a very significant breakthrough towards peace in the Balkans. The war-option mentality and ideology of extremists in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would be seriously undermined. Most important, the Bosnian Serbs would be finally convinced that their recalcitrant approach has

definitely been superseded and that they must accept the continuation of negotiations on the basis of the Contact Group as a starting point.

By opting to maintain the greatest part of the most comprehensive sanctions regime adopted against any State Member of the United Nations, the Security Council is continuing to pursue the policy of punishment against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian and Montenegrin people for things for which they bear no responsibility and which are out of their control. This policy of collective punishment is being carried out despite the increasing calls and appeals of numerous States, especially States of the region, on the superfluousness of the sanctions, their ineffectual nature and the extremely harmful and devastating effects on the economy and infrastructure of the whole of south-eastern Europe.

At a meeting in Athens on 15 April, five countries of the Black Sea group adopted a declaration (S/1995/313, annex) in which they stated that the implementation of the sanctions could have a considerable ... negative impact on the overall political, economic, security and social situation in the region as a whole and called upon the Contact Group to continue efforts towards achieving a peaceful, just and lasting political solution to the crisis in parallel with the suspension and lifting of the sanctions. A similar appeal was adopted by the members of the Danube Commission in Budapest.

The recent non-paper on the humanitarian impact of the sanctions which was circulated by the five permanent members of the Security Council focused on the need to improve the effectiveness of the Sanctions Committees in expediting humanitarian implications as much as possible. We have taken particular note of the proposal that it should be allowed to supply clearly defined categories of medical supplies and foodstuffs even without the notification of the relevant Sanctions Committees.

However, despite this non-paper and the clear call in Security Council resolution 943 (1994) on the Sanctions Committee concerning Yugoslavia to adopt appropriately streamlined procedures for consideration of applications concerning legitimate humanitarian assistance, the Committee has not meaningfully resorted to doing so, and the sanctions continue to be applied in a very strict manner.

In addition, the Council has opted to ignore the request of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for a one-shot export of $70 million worth of goods, through which it would finance humanitarian imports of medicines and foodstuffs even though it was decided to allow similar operations under different sanctions regimes.

The new conditions being set by some members of the Contact Group, especially the calls for the recognition by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia as a prerequisite for the further suspension of sanctions not only lack any basis in the Security Council resolutions by which the sanctions were introduced, but also represent a false and counterproductive form of pressure. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is not prepared to make the same grave mistake committed by the international community and recognize the separatist republics before the fundamental problems have been resolved between the peoples living in them.

These calls for premature recognition are a classic example of putting the cart before the horse. Even if recognition were granted, none of the problems of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be resolved. The civil war would continue. It would even gain in intensity as the Muslim Government forces could well interpret the recognition as giving carte blanche for continuing hostilities and intensifying their drive to impose their will to create a unitary State under Muslim domination, which is unacceptable to other peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina and is the main cause of the civil war.

In spite of very clear-cut reports by the ICFY Mission that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is fully cooperating with the mission personnel and doing everything it possibly can to fulfil its commitment to keeping the border closed except for humanitarian foodstuffs, medical supplies and clothing, it is constantly being subjected to provocations and absurd allegations that it is supplying the Bosnian Serbs with military materiel. Preposterous reports on massive helicopter flights from Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are circulated despite the fact that they have never been verified by the ICFY Mission on the ground.

The aim of such unprincipled provocations is to undermine the constructive and peace-oriented policy that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is following and is basically geared towards the continuation of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Unjustified calls for the cutting off of telecommunications links between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serbs, demands for ridiculous control of fuel supplies in Yugoslav Airline planes and the Bar-Bari ferryboats, demands that the partial suspension be continued for only 30 days: all these are absolutely counterproductive and can only strengthen the hand of those that do not wish the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to continue to cooperate with the international community.

The decision by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to cut political and economic links with the Bosnian Serb leadership was completely unilateral. It is being pursued as a form of pressure on Pale to convince it to accept the Contact Group plan as a basis for negotiations on the final settlement. Yugoslavia accepted the ICFY Mission as a way of facilitating its unilateral decision. If, however, further pressure and new unprincipled and totally meaningless conditions are brought to bear on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, it must be very clear that the Yugoslav Government will have to respond to great internal pressure and reject all forms of blackmail and coercion and call into question the activities of the ICFY Mission as a whole on Yugoslav soil. The responsibility for all negative consequences on the peace process in the territory of the former Yugoslavia that might ensue would rest solely with those members of the Security Council that, by their absurd demands on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, give obvious proof that they do not seek an urgent and comprehensive political solution and the restoration of peace. Instead, they abuse the Security Council to pursue their own political interests.

Fully convinced that a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia can be achieved only by political means and negotiations conducted by equal partners, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia stands ready to do all it can to facilitate the peace process. It is not prepared, however, to accept provocations and unprincipled demands, conditions or blackmail which are contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and international legal norms. Such attempts by some Powers it has always rejected, and I wish to assure the Security Council that this time again Yugoslavia will do the same thing, most resolutely.

The President: The next speaker is the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I now call on him.

Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina): Let me welcome you, Sir, to the Council on this most notable occasion. It is a pleasure to have you in our midst today.

Let me also take this opportunity to personally congratulate my colleague from the Central European Initiative, His Excellency Ambassador Karel Kovanda, on the most capable and elegant manner in which he has managed the tumultuous work — if you will, the April storms — of the Security Council.

I would also extend my sincere appreciation to His Excellency Ambassador Li Zhaoxing and the entire Chinese delegation for their efforts during the month of March.

Although frequently the subject of debate within the Council, unfortunately Bosnia and Herzegovina has not had the opportunity to be frequently thankful for the results of those debates. The lack of decisive measures and the continuation of the war and "ethnic cleansing" against our citizens and our Republic indicate amply that it is not that we do not know how to be appreciative, but ultimately that the bottom line has left us with little to be appreciative about except the humanitarian assistance and good wishes of the international community and our own determination and sacrifices for survival.

It does indeed give us satisfaction today to thank the Council for its efforts to tighten the effectiveness of the border-sealing regime and, in particular, to thank those Member States that have striven for this objective and that have been diligent and credible in alerting us to the violations and flaws in the system. Without the efforts of those States, the Council today probably would be engaged in an exercise of fatalism and of legitimizing fictions.

To be sure, we still have a long way to go before we can ascertain, much less herald, that the new border-sealing and monitoring system is effective. And we certainly cannot be satisfied that the Belgrade regime continues to refuse to recognize its neighbours, including the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; that this regime has failed to cease its ideological and material support for an ethnically homogeneous and dictatorial "Greater Serbia"; and that this regime therefore still reneges on making a sincere commitment for peace.

The leadership of the Belgrade regime — or more accurately, the one dictatorial leader — maintains the duplicitous confidence that he is the grand matador, who on the one hand, feints — projects to the world the cape of his innocence and disarmed ambitions — while on the other hand keeping his sword discreetly hidden behind the cape. One would be almost tempted to exclaim a

cynical "*Olé*" if it were not for the carnage and for the fact that this is not entertainment.

National sovereignty and territorial integrity, regional stability, international peace and security and, most important, human life — Bosnian, Croatian, Serb, French, British, Pakistani, Malaysian, Bangladeshi, Dutch and many others — are very much at stake, as we have all come to learn painfully over the last three years.

With this well-based and healthy skepticism we therefore welcome today's draft resolution as clearly trumpeting "no more business as usual": no more illusion and concealing. The new mechanisms and reporting systems should all help us advance towards the desired result. In addition, we must emphasize the essential ingredient in the hoped-for success for this refurbished system: Member States must provide — and I emphasize "must provide" — all the necessary resources for this new system to be effective. We have all too painfully learned that preventive measures faithfully undertaken are much more effective, efficient and ultimately economical than corrective steps taken after the damage is done.

If the international community and certain world Powers are sincerely of the view that new weapons and strategic material add fuel to the fire in Bosnia and Herzegovina, then they must first, and strictly, apply this policy — for practical, psychological, moral and legal reasons — to the arsonists, those that originally set the fire, including the aggressor across the border.

The Secretary General, the Co-Chairmen and other members of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) Mission, the members of the Security Council and others must be vigilant in ensuring that the Mission is effective and that the resources are adequate, in providing independent evidence of violations, and in making other necessary adjustments, including the potential deployment of more experts and troops, along the border.

We must sadly state that the so-called certifications from the Co-Chairmen of the ICFY Steering Committee, along with their reports, sanitized or not, did not fill us with confidence when compared to the mountain of independent evidence to the contrary. We request that the Security Council, the Secretariat and the ICFY Mission take note that, after all, this monitoring Mission is along the border of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In this context, we welcome the overdue provision contained in paragraph 16 of draft resolution S/1995/319, which calls upon the ICFY Mission to provide the relevant Government with its observations and findings — and, we must assume, without manipulation of such information. We will be in contact with the ICFY Mission to facilitate implementation of this provision, and we remain prepared, certainly, for the fullest of cooperation.

We should also take note that the provision relating to the current easing of sanctions with respect to the FRY — that is, Serbia and Montenegro — is scheduled to expire by 5 July this year. This is a most appropriate expression of the Security Council's intention not to be dictated to by the deserving object of its sanctions and not to provide it with an alibi for its continuing culpability. Also, this time-frame is long enough to test the efficacy both of the border closure and monitoring mechanisms and of the Belgrade regime's sincerity. It is up to Mr. Milosevic now.

Of course, the search for peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a multi-variable equation. Certainly, the sealing of the border is a critical step. Also, abandonment by the Belgrade regime of its perverse and illegal ambitions is a prerequisite. A commitment to peace is not consistent with evading recognition of one's neighbours' territorial integrity and sovereignty and with the persistent resort by Milosevic to this matador diplomacy. The cape of deceit and double-talk must be set aside and the dagger must be sheathed once and for all.

And, of course, we must be very frank about this: Mr. Milosevic does not cut such a capable and elegant figure as a matador except to some international political leaderships that have become only too willing to play the role of the bull.

As we have stated, the search for peace in our Republic is a multi-variable equation, and while we seem to be coming up to the mark on one variable, we are unfortunately falling away from another: the alarming acceleration of the erosion of the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), and specifically of the political will to see that mandate implemented. When UNPROFOR's mandate was renewed three weeks ago, we hoped that the process of erosion had been stemmed or even reversed. Obviously, that was not the case. We still await, with a ray of positive anticipation, the Secretary-General's report with respect to the concerns expressed in our letter of 29 March 1995 (S/1995/245) and cited in resolution 982 (1995). But how

is the Secretary-General to respond constructively to our previous concerns and grievances when there is a rash of new Serbian provocations and UNPROFOR withdrawals and surrenders in the face of those provocations?

The Serbians go into a United Nations weapons-collection point in an occupied suburb of Sarajevo and, with UNPROFOR soldiers standing by, they fire mortars into the civilian areas of Sarajevo. The response from the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to such outrageous and murderous action is supposed to be air strikes. Instead, the United Nations soldiers on the scene are relegated, degraded, to the role of witnesses to potential murder.

Now the Serbians control the skies, the same skies that have been declared subject to a United Nations/NATO-enforced "no-fly-zone". Not only are United Nations/NATO air-to-ground support and air strike missions curtailed, not only are UNPROFOR planes fired upon regularly, but now the Serbians are actually dictating to the United Nations who can fly in United Nations planes. As of today, it seems that even members of the Contact Group are no longer welcome to fly in them. Bosnians are not allowed; American and other diplomats are removed from flights; and even United Nations civilian officials are denied the right to land at Sarajevo, as their planes face the threat of being shot at, and actually are shot at. The United Nations and NATO have gone from losing control of the skies to becoming the victims of nothing less than air terrorism.

Let me just briefly quote from a *New York Times* Service article of 20 April 1995, under the headline "Test in Bosnia: Limits of UN Humiliation", which stated:

> "The airlift to Sarajevo lies at the heart of the UN mission here — it provides more than 80 percent of the aid to the city. But it is obvious by now that the airlift has also come to demonstrate how the world's collective authority is vulnerable in Sarajevo to the whim of a Serb who is, in the end, a member of a rebel army holding 70 percent of a State recognized by the United Nations." (International Herald Tribune, *20 April 1995, p. 5)*

Some speak of the necessity for the United Nations to be impartial, and others have pressed this argument to its limits to profess neutrality. I say to members of the Security Council "Excellencies, that is your interpretation. But do you realize that the United Nations, your authority, the dignity of your countries and, most critically, your men and women, and not just the Bosnians, are under the direct assault of these Serbians? War is being waged upon you and all of us, and the faster you backpedal to avoid this war, the more relentless the Karadzic Serbs become in pursuing you and cornering you."

I should like here to address my dear colleague and friend Ambassador Mérimée, the Permanent Representative of the French Republic. When I watched the television scenes of the young French corporal, Eric Hardouin, fatally wounded while helping erect an anti-sniper barricade in front of the Holiday Inn in Sarajevo, I was shocked and revolted and, ultimately, frozen in a combination of fear and anger.

Once again I extend my deepest condolences to the families concerned and to the French Government and people over the death of two young Frenchmen. Similarly, though, with their death another part of Sarajevo has also died. The city they were hoping to protect is our city, my city. The people they were looking to defend are our citizens — actually, members of my family, my friends, the future of our country. The Holiday Inn entrance in front of which this one brave corporal was setting up the barricade is the entrance that I use when I am in Sarajevo and staying at that hotel.

I say to you, Mr. Ambassador, "Forensic evidence may be inconclusive, politicians may speculate and some may even slander, but when the Serbians shoot at you, they also shoot at us. When they kill one of your courageous young men, we also feel as if they have murdered one of us. Do not mistake our political differences as insensitivity to your sacrifices. Do not mistake our stoic faces for indifference. It is just, Mr. Ambassador, and all Council members with young men and women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that after three years we have all become traumatized and numb. We are all under attack, Blue Helmets or not."

We have accepted the Contact Group peace plan, with all its painful imperfections and injustices. The Karadzic Serbs continue to believe that they can successfully resist, and even bully the Security Council into abandoning the Contact Group plan in favour of the reality, the status quo of their conquest and "ethnic cleansing". Unfortunately, the Council sometimes gives them hope, when in its resolutions and statements it calls on the one hand for peace negotiations and cease-fires, but on the other hesitating to offend them, does not recognize our Government's commitment to the plan and, once again, does not demand their acceptance.

The two latest French victims, the other United Nations personnel, and the countless Bosnian civilians who have been killed since August 1994 are the casualties of this Serbian refusal to accept, and commit to, the Contact Group peace plan.

Of course, the most critical variable in this equation for peace is the Serbian acceptance and implementation of this plan. However, until this comes about, the one variable that we must maximize, or at least prevent from being marginalized, is the commitment to, and capacity and execution of, the United Nations mandate in our Republic and, indeed, in the Republic of Croatia and elsewhere. This will both serve to save lives and to maximize the positive pressure upon the Karadzic Serbs to accept peace.

There are also other variables in the search for peace in our country. We will continue to use all our capacity, including the right and means to defend our population, territorial integrity and sovereignty. We will use these variables responsibly, and we here reassert our unabridgable right to obtain the means to defend ourselves.

Our common search for peace, though, is most definitely made more fruitful and less dangerous and counter-productive to the extent that the United Nations in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the region as a whole is more committed to, and better capable of, executing its mandate.

I trust also that some bright soul will not, purposely or otherwise, undermine the real objective by constantly redefining the mandate so that expectations are always lowered. Instead, the execution and implementation of the mandate must be brought up to the proper and intended level.

The sum of the equation that we must derive in order to secure peace, unfortunately, is not variable, and therefore we cannot cheat — I emphasize that we cannot cheat — in the very demanding task required of us to reach our solution.

Once again, though, I should like to take the opportunity to thank the Council for the small but significant step it has taken today.

Finally, allow me to take a moment to address my most dear colleague, Ambassador Madeleine Albright, on behalf of our people and Republic.

Most Bosnians did not know where Oklahoma was before the attack on that city and its people. Actually, I did, from the time when I was in Bosnia. For me, Oklahoma City was the first home that I ever had in the United States. I know the people there to be generous, warm and open. They help their neighbours in need, whether those neighbours are across the street or halfway around the world.

One of the emergency workers immediately on the scene of the explosion, filmed on CNN, was Mr. Larry Jones, from Feed the Children, an organization also active in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Now, he was helping his immediate neighbours, after having helped Bosnians in the past. I note his comment on the day of the explosion. He said "I haven't seen anything like this since I left Sarajevo."

The people in Sarajevo are in no position to offer any real material help, but we do offer our most sincere condolences and desire for recovery to the families and all the people of Oklahoma City. Those who carried out this crime must suffer the damnation of this world and the next.

The President: I thank the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina for his kind words.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I wish to express my delegation's pleasure at seeing you, Sir, in your capacity as First Deputy Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic, presiding over this meeting.

The members of the Security Council have received a report from the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia concerning the degree of compliance by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) with its commitment to close its border with the areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces. Certification of this fact is the necessary first

condition for this Council to consider continuing the limited suspension of sanctions provided for under resolution 943 (1994).

The report of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee also mentions certain difficulties in verifying the closure of that border. However, we take the view that it emerges clearly from the report that compliance by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) with its commitments is, generally speaking, the rule, while possible infringements — in no way exclusive to one party — are in any event only exceptions.

We believe that such exceptions should be carefully assessed in the context of endeavours to extend the cease-fire and to set the peace process on the right track, as well as in the light of the regrettable increase in tension in the former Yugoslavia in recent days, which is causing our delegation the most serious concern.

Any sanctions regime must necessarily be progressive, rational and in proportion to the behaviour it is intended to discourage. If we in the Council, having witnessed the efforts of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to meet its commitments, failed to react in accordance with these criteria, we would run the risk of using the powers conferred on us by the Charter without taking properly into account the purposes for which they were granted.

For these reasons, the Argentine Republic is in favour of continuing the suspension of the sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) until the expiry of the time period set in resolution 970 (1995). In this respect, and in a spirit of broad cooperation, it will join the consensus in the Council on the adoption of the draft resolution now before us.

However, we also feel bound to express our particular viewpoint respecting some of the provisions of this draft.

Operative paragraph 1 sets a specific date limiting the validity of the resolution. The delegation of Argentina interprets that date not as being necessarily some kind of curtailment *ex profeso* of the deadline set by resolution 970 (1995), but, rather, as establishing a new and more clear-cut operational policy. Indeed, it would not be particularly meaningful to interpret it as a setting of a shorter deadline for the suspension of sanctions, when it is acknowledged that there have been no substantive changes, negative or positive, in the de facto circumstances, whether political or technical, warranting that suspension. We repeat that we see no particular reasons, other than technical, in the report for extending or shortening the deadline set in resolution 970 (1995).

We would like to express our thanks to the sponsors of the draft for the change that they made to operative paragraph 12, dividing it into two parts to become the present operative paragraphs 11 and 12; this was to some extent in response to views expressed by our delegation. We also wish to recall that the agreement on sanctions procedures presupposes negotiations between all the members of the Committee concerned respecting technical aspects of the regime. In that context, if there is a continuation of the existing situation, which is marked by what has shown to be a practice followed by some of linking procedural aspects with others that strictly speaking are outside the Committee's mandate, it will be difficult to free the Committee from the impasse that has existed for some time now with respect to these procedures.

The Argentine delegation also wishes to place on record its interpretation of operative paragraph 2 of the draft resolution. It is our understanding that the authorization granted to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to operate commercial flights necessarily means its being able to obtain the quantities of fuel, lubricants, equipment and spare parts required to allow those flights to take place safely and in reasonable conditions. That is the only way to interpret the first part of the provision.

Lastly, we wish to express our most sincere hope that the draft resolution will provide an incentive to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to continue to meet its commitments, and, indeed, to increase its level of compliance with measures that, in the view of the Council, are absolutely vital to the continuance of efforts to restore peace to the region.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for his kind words.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): At the outset, my delegation would like to say that it is pleased to see you, Sir, the First Deputy Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic, presiding over this meeting of the Security Council.

The Indonesian delegation would like to express its sincere and heartfelt condolences to the people and

Government of the United States over the death of scores of innocent civilians in Oklahoma City earlier this week.

My delegation would also like to convey its appreciation to the authors of the draft resolution before us today, which extends, until 5 July 1995, the partial easing of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) originally adopted under resolutions 943 (1994) of 23 September 1994 and 970 (1995) of 12 January 1995.

At the time of the adoption of resolution 970 (1995), my delegation expressed its serious reservations regarding the extension of the easing of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. However, the Indonesian delegation stated then that, since resolution 943 (1994) had already initiated the process of relaxing sanctions, we emphasized the need for scrupulous fulfilment by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of the commitments it had undertaken to close its border with the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Over the past 100 days, my delegation has carefully examined the periodic reports of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY). It notes the consistent assessment by the Mission Coordinator that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia continue to provide satisfactory cooperation with the ICFY Mission and that the Mission continues to enjoy full freedom of movement within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Equally, however, my delegation cannot be impervious to the constant flow of information that indicates that a more effective closure of the border has yet to be achieved. Few items of news have attracted as much attention as the reports of helicopter flights in contravention of the border closure. These incidents are reflected in the recent reports of the ICFY Co-Chairmen. Our delegation has also learned of reports of circumvention of the border closure in the form of the transhipment of goods from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia through the Republic of Croatia to the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the so-called Bosnian Serb forces.

The Indonesian delegation is of the view that the draft resolution before us maintains a correct balance between recognition of the evaluations contained in the reports of the Co-Chairmen of the ICFY relating to the cooperation by the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the continuing imperfections in the border closure.

The draft resolution is not one directed against those who are genuinely concerned to ensure the border closure: it contains elements that recognize the importance of the cooperation by authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in ensuring the border closure. The partial suspension of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has, after all, been extended. Rather, the resolution is one directed against those who are determined to violate the border closure.

The Indonesian delegation must emphasize once again, however, that the international community expects a most rigorous implementation by the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of the commitments they have undertaken. Nor can we be oblivious to the fact that recognition of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has yet to occur. Such an act would contribute immeasurably towards the creation of an environment that would be favourable to a lasting and comprehensive peace in the region.

The draft resolution before us contains a number of important elements based on the experience of the past 100 days; some of these, we hasten to add, are reaffirmations of previous commitments intended to ensure a more effective implementation of the border closure. We attach great importance, for example, to the provision addressing the possible diversion of goods — except foodstuffs, medical supplies and clothing for essential humanitarian needs — from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia through the Republic of Croatia to the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of the so-called Bosnian Serb forces.

We also deem it important that the draft resolution provides for a thorough investigation of alleged breaches of the border closure, including those relating to aerial violations, and stresses the importance of prosecuting persons suspected of violating the border closure.

My delegation is also heartened by the recognition in the draft resolution of the need to provide the ICFY Mission with the capacity to discharge its tasks effectively. The financial difficulties facing the Mission have rightly seized our attention. This problem must be addressed immediately lest it seriously impair the ability of the Mission to certify the border closure credibly.

Further, my delegation would like to emphasize that the draft resolution before us today provides that the Co-Chairmen of the ICFY should make use not only of information made available to them from the Mission, but

also from all other available sources that are deemed relevant. This, in our view, is an important aspect of the draft resolution and forms part of an effort to assist the ICFY constructively in the implementation of its tasks.

At this juncture, it would be remiss of me if I failed to pay tribute to the members of the Mission for their tireless efforts in fulfilling their important duties under difficult physical and operational constraints.

The conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina has lasted for far too long. Resolutions have been passed and statements issued by this body, yet death and destruction continue to be inflicted on the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. A lasting settlement can be achieved only if all the parties concerned share a true commitment to peace. The draft resolution before us represents a means to encourage the Bosnian Serbs to accept the Contact Group peace plan and all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly. It must therefore be energetically implemented, as befits measures imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter.

In light of these considerations, my delegation will support the adoption of the draft resolution.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): My delegation would like first of all to welcome into our midst the First Deputy Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic, His Excellency Mr. Alexander Vondra. We also wish to express our most sincere condolences to the Government of the United States of America and to the families of those who lost their lives in the tragic explosion in Oklahoma City.

Nigeria had the opportunity during the informal consultations of the Security Council of expressing its thanks to the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia for their latest report concerning the operations of the International Conference's Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). It is the view of my delegation that the work of the Co-Chairmen and their staff remains crucial in the international effort to mediate peace in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It was a bold and courageous decision when, on 14 August 1994, the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) — against the backdrop of our disappointment at the failure of the Bosnian Serb party to agree to the Contact Group peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina — decided, *inter alia*, to sever political and economic relations with the Bosnian Serb party and close the border of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to all transportation across that border except for food, clothing and medicines.

This positive step by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was duly reciprocated by the Security Council in its adoption of resolution 943 (1994), under which existing sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were partially lifted. It is therefore important for the Secretary-General and the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia to continue to monitor closely the full implementation of Belgrade's commitment to close the border as a *quid pro quo* for the partial suspension of the sanctions. The present porousness of the border must be corrected, and corrected faithfully.

What is of special concern to my delegation today is that, in spite of the border closure, the continuing positive contributions of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina's acceptance of the Contact Group peace plan, the peace process in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is still at an impasse. It is my delegation's considered view that, in the overall context of the search for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the present draft resolution makes a contribution for at least two reasons. Firstly, it rightly underscores the need to strengthen the existing border-closure regime and the need for a more assiduous investigation of reported violations, such as the helicopter flights that may have crossed the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Secondly — and related to the previous point — the draft resolution recognizes that the continuation of the border-closure regime constitutes an invaluable pressure point on the Bosnian Serb party and accordingly extends the suspension of sanctions on Belgrade, albeit for a reduced period.

The Nigerian delegation believes that the matters relating to the border closure are only one part of the problems stifling progress in resolving the Bosnian conflict. There is no doubt that the Contact Group countries themselves have a unique role to play, as members of the Security Council, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the European Union or, in some cases, all three. As in my subregion, where the apparent lack of unity of interests and positions of member States has not augured well for the peace process in Liberia, so too in Bosnia and Herzegovina the diversity of interests

and perspectives of countries in the subregion with the necessary leverage has not helped matters at all.

Hence, we believe it is necessary for the States in the Contact Group to harmonize their views as soon as possible on how best the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina may be resolved. Unless the interests and perspectives of the Contact Group are harmonized and adequate pressure is promptly brought to bear on the parties in a non-discriminatory manner, the draft resolution we are about to vote for, like several others before it, may not achieve the desired objectives after all. And what a great pity that would be, once again, in the continuing tragedy in the area.

The President: I thank the representative of Nigeria for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Nkgowe (Botswana): We join those who spoke before us in conveying our heartfelt condolences to the Government and the people of the United States following the tragedy in Oklahoma at the hands of terrorists.

The delegation of Botswana wishes to thank the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) for their report (S/1995/302), which we read with keen interest. It is gratifying to note that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) have continued to honour their commitment to seal the international border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces.

There have been no discoveries of weapons or ammunition crossing the border since the Mission began its work back in 1994, although sizeable amounts of other contraband have been confiscated. This is an indication that some contraband, including weapons, must have crossed the border unnoticed. If it could be determined with absolute certainty that there had been no weapons or ammunition transshipments across the border, this would indeed be a most gratifying piece of information, because the primary purpose of the border closure was to prevent war materials from reaching the Serb forces in Bosnia.

It is common knowledge, however, that it is not an easy task to seal a border between two countries totally, even at the best of times. There is no denying that weapons and ammunition must be reaching Bosnian Serbs through the porous border. We will never know, of course, the extent to which transshipments of weapons have been carried out. It is, however, impossible to doubt that weapons are reaching the territory of Bosnia under the control of Serb forces undetected: the unexplained and seemingly inexplicable cross-border helicopter movements, the large vehicle tracks along the border and the lack of protection for the Mission staff, who have on occasion been forced to flee under fire, all suggest that the border is not sealed at all times and that arms supplies must be reaching the Bosnian Serb forces.

My delegation supports the extension of the partial suspension because any decision to the contrary would mean an end to what has been achieved so far to stop the transshipment of military contraband. In the meantime, the international community should continue to make a determined effort to pressure Belgrade to isolate the Bosnian Serb forces completely until they realize that acceptance of the Contact Group plan is their only hope for a solution to the conflict. There is no doubt that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia can play a crucial role in this endeavour if they so wish, and it is our earnest hope that President Milosevic will do everything possible to make the border closure more effective.

Just as the border closure between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces is a critical factor in the efforts to bring the war in Bosnia to an end, so is the general arms embargo. It is shocking to learn that weapons of war are being shipped into this cauldron of conflict by some Members of the United Nations, in violation of Security Council resolution 713 (1991). It is most disheartening that those who have the capacity to stop this flow of arms have decided to watch passively as Security Council resolutions are flouted with total abandon. We cannot expect to make any headway at the negotiating table when the parties to that violent, deep-rooted and complex conflict are being armed to the teeth. Fuelling the fires of war in the former Yugoslavia with new arms is simply bad business. It puts the lives of the Blue Helmets on the ground at risk, and we do not believe that this is in anybody's interest.

The crisis in the former Yugoslavia threatens to create a perception of the Security Council as an ineffective machine good for the production of resolutions and nothing more. It accounted for 23 Council resolutions in 1992, 25 in 1993, 12 in 1994 and 5 in the first four months of 1995 alone. By the time the gavel falls for the adjournment of this meeting, the Council will have added

yet another resolution to this already long list. Countless presidential statements have also been issued, yet there is not the slightest sign that there will be a settlement soon.

The flip side of this record number of resolutions is, of course, the fact that the Council has been able to muster an unprecedented degree of agreement on how to bring this conflict to an end. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about the resolve to implement these Council decisions. Perhaps it is time the Security Council thought of changing its approach to the search for a solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia: there may just be a way out of the dark clouds of war hanging over the former Yugoslavia other than the one we have charted so far.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): At the outset, allow me, on behalf of the Government of Oman, to welcome you, Sir, to the Council. We are particularly pleased to see you presiding over this formal meeting of the Security Council, and we express our appreciation to your country for the very able manner in which its delegation has steered the work of the Security Council so far this month under its able Ambassador, Mr. Kovanda.

On a sad note, I should like to extend, through you, Mr. President, our heartfelt condolences to the representative of the United States of America on the death of innocent people caused by a tragic, horrific crime in Oklahoma City.

While members of the Security Council welcome the decision taken by the Belgrade authorities and consider it a preliminary step in the right direction that will pave the way for a new relationship between the international community and that country, on the other hand they stressed, during the Council's deliberations preceding the adoption of resolution 943 (1994), the need for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to take further practical steps to implement fully all relevant Security Council resolutions aimed at easing the sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs. These steps include the following: first, recognition of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and States in the region; secondly, an end to all military and political practices of aggression that might place any doubt on the legitimacy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and endanger its peace and territorial integrity; thirdly, mutual recognition of the international borders of all States in the region; fourthly, the promotion of peaceful coexistence between all the States and peoples of the region in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter; and, fifthly, cooperation with the United Nations and the International Tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the Former Yugoslavia.

Those were the demands of the international community and the members of the Security Council. However, seven months have elapsed since we suspended the international sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and to this very day none of these demands have been met by Belgrade. On the contrary, we are witnessing a loose regime of border closure and certain incidents like the helicopter flights which compel us to question the wisdom behind the suspension of the sanctions. in the light of the partial implementation of the relevant resolutions. My delegation therefore calls on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to completely carry out its obligations, in full.

After a thorough examination of the reports of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, we would like to commend the work done and the efforts exerted in this regard, and we look forward to the day when the Council receives a satisfactory report from the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee that will state right up front that the authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are cooperating fully with the Mission towards an effective and sound implementation of the border closure. This, in my Government's view, will help the Security Council to take another look at the comprehensive regime of sanctions imposed on that country, with a view to having an indefinite suspension of these sanctions.

In conclusion, and based on our understanding of the matter at hand, my delegation, once again, will vote in favour of a draft resolution on the suspension of the sanctions, and hopes to see in the coming days more positive steps taken by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

The President: I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to my delegation.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to welcome His Excellency Mr. Alexandr Vondra, a First Deputy Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic in his capacity of President of the Security Council today.

We wish also again to extend our condolences to the people and Government of the United States on the loss of so may lives caused by the deplorable, criminal attack that took place in Oklahoma City two days ago.

My delegation wishes to express its appreciation for the report provided by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. Once again, this report tells us that the Mission continues to have full freedom of movement in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and that the cooperation of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia continues to be satisfactory. For this reason, the report, in its final part, certifies — or reaches the conclusion — that the Belgrade Government is continuing to meet its commitment to closing the land border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serbs.

My delegation knows from its own experience how difficult a task it is to close a border completely, especially in an area of conflict and war. During the Central American crisis in the nineteen eighties the international community required something similar of Honduras. In many cases it was physically impossible for us to do what we were asked to do, and we thereby were the object of international condemnation or censure. For this reason, we understand today the situation in the former Yugoslavia and, having studied the periodic reports of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, transmitted through the Secretary-General of the United Nations, we support the temporary suspension of the sanctions against that country and we urge it to continue to cooperate towards securing an indefinite suspension of the sanctions.

The report has been prepared by a mission of responsible and qualified persons from more than 18 nations, and we therefore have no doubt that it has been impartial in submitting the report.

My delegation wishes to reiterate the ideas presented by the Secretary-General in regard to sanctions regimes in his "Supplement to An Agenda for Peace", which was endorsed in a recent statement by the Council. I would venture to recall, as I have done on previous occasions, that the purpose of sanctions is to modify the conduct of the party or parties to a conflict which is threatening international peace and security, and not to punish or exact any other kind of reprisals. All this must be seen in the context of Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations.

With the aim in mind of taking firm and lasting steps towards bringing peace to the Balkans, the Council recently adopted three distinct resolutions relating to three peace-keeping operations: in Croatia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in Macedonia. We hope that the draft resolution that we shall be adopting today will help promote trust and cooperation between all the parties involved in the conflict.

Finally, I wish to call attention to the letter (S/1995/313) addressed to the Secretary-General, and hence to the Security Council, by the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations, concerning the impact of the sanctions on countries such as Bulgaria, Greece, the Republic of Moldova, Romania and Ukraine. The Foreign Ministers of those countries, meeting in Athens, decided to initiate action in the Security Council as a result of the economic problems caused by the sanctions regime imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. My delegation takes the view that this matter should be given consideration as soon as possible.

As on other occasions, my delegation wishes to acknowledge the positive attitude of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and urges them to continue to cooperate with a view to achieving a just and lasting peace in the former Yugoslavia, for well-being and peace for its neighbours will also mean well-being and peace for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. For that reason we support the draft resolution on which the Council will soon take action.

The President: I thank the representative of Honduras for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): It gives me sincere pleasure to welcome you, Sir, First Deputy Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic, as President of today's meeting of the Security Council.

The Russian delegation wishes also to convey its profound condolences to the United States on the tragic loss in Oklahoma City of the lives of Americans, including children, who fell victim to a horrific terrorist act. This senselessly cruel and barbarous crime demonstrates yet again the need for the most resolute joint efforts by the international community to suppress the threat posed by extremism and terrorism, which has become global in scale.

Russia will be unable to support the draft resolution before the Council, because, in our view, it is not consistent with the principle of positive and negative incentives previously agreed in the Contact Group and in the Security Council; according to the principle, those that support the peace plan would be encouraged while pressure would be exerted on those that reject it. That principle was intended to be an effective tool in the effort to reach a peaceful settlement. It might be appropriate today, though, to ask just how effectively that tool is being used.

I would, in that connection, recall the background to this issue. In August last year, the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of its own free will decided to close its border with Bosnia and Herzegovina to all except humanitarian goods. The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia then requested the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) to send an international Mission to the border to assist in implementing that decision. In both instances, the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia acted on its own initiative, thereby demonstrating its readiness to cooperate actively with the international community in the efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement, including through the exertion of serious pressure on the Bosnian Serb leadership to change its unconstructive position.

This was a courageous and far from easy step, but despite the inevitable attendant problems the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has held firm over implementing its decision. The Security Council responded by adopting resolution 943 (1994), partially suspending restrictions on commercial flights, the ferry service between Bar and Bari and cultural and sporting exchanges. We should honestly recognize that this response was not entirely adequate or commensurate with the significance of Belgrade's closure of the border: essentially, these were symbolic measures that did not really ease the burden of economic and trade sanctions.

Since that time, and as corroborated by numerous reports of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the ICFY, including the latest report — annexed to document S/1995/302 of 13 April — the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has stuck strictly to its decision. Its cooperation with the ICFY Mission remains very good and is steadily improving as experience in working together is acquired. Problems that arise are resolved speedily and constructively. Of course, no Government can seal its borders 100 per cent, so there are isolated cases of smuggling and other situations. But the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as clearly indicated in the reports from the ICFY, is actively facilitating their resolution.

Many are alarmed by the reports of cross-border helicopter flights; here, as we all know, much remains uncertain and requires further investigation. In any case, the border has been substantially closed for nine months, and this has been a major factor on the side of the earliest possible achievement of a political settlement to the crisis. The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has shown itself to be a serious partner of the Contact Group and of the entire international community in the quest for peace.

Under these circumstances, the Council would seem to have had every justification for adopting further positive stimuli, especially since it stated its resolve as early as resolution 943 (1994) to keep the situation under close review and to consider further steps to ease sanctions. As a minimum, it should long ago have made the partial suspension of sanctions indefinite, as repeatedly proposed by the Russian Federation. This time, we presented for the Council's consideration our own draft resolution, based on resolution 970 (1995); actually, our draft set out the minimum the Security Council could do to further encourage the constructive line Belgrade is taking.

Unfortunately, all our proposals have gone unheeded. Instead, with each regular extension of the partial suspension of sanctions, the Security Council has been inclined to make yet more fresh demands on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This trend is reflected in today's draft resolution, too, which contains many alarming innovations — this despite the views of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the ICFY, on whose conclusions doubts are in essence being cast without any convincing grounds whatever for so doing. We reaffirm our firm support for the activities of the Co-Chairmen and of the ICFY Mission, and reject attempts to disparage them.

For example, the draft resolution attempts to link the voluntary decision by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to close its border with Bosnia and Herzegovina to the situation on its border with Croatia. This is a serious step towards changing the mandate of the ICFY Mission, and it is being proposed without consulting Belgrade. It is beyond our understanding why it was necessary to cut back the draft resolution's duration to 75 days when a mechanism, which is still operational was agreed upon in September last year that

provides for the immediate reimposition of full sanctions should the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia fail to implement its decision to close the border.

One could cite a whole range of other provisions that are puzzling, to put it mildly. For example, paragraph 2 in essence proposes to establish harsh restrictions on the volume of fuel in the tanks of Yugoslav and other aircraft. Applying this requirement may create serious and unwarranted difficulties for permitted flights, not to mention that the Security Council's desire to manage the technical details of the amounts of fuel in fuel tanks would appear odd, to say the least. The same paragraph, incidentally, *de jure* introduces additional restrictions on the supply of aviation fuel to Belgrade, even though resolution 943 (1994) suspended the restrictions on the provisions of the goods and services needed for international air links with Belgrade.

The new draft resolution also calls on the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to sever telecommunication links with the Bosnian Serbs. And yet the Security Council itself, in resolution 942 (1994), unequivocally excluded telecommunications from the scope of application of the sanctions. We find it difficult to grasp the logic here.

All these measures not only contradict the conclusions of the Co-Chairmen, but in essence reflect yet another attempt to introduce a double standard into the work of the Council. In this instance, the Security Council is beginning to get into unwarranted micromanagement, whereas in other instances it closes its eyes to flagrant violations of its own decisions, as has long been happening with respect to the embargo on arms shipments to the republics of the former Yugoslavia.

As a result, on thorough reading the draft resolution begs the following question: can it be considered a positive stimulus and if so, then why have the views of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, whose policy, in the final analysis, has made it possible to establish control over the border, not been taken into account? We have serious doubts as to whether this draft is intended to encourage those who support the Contact Group peace plan. Rather, what is involved is in principle a new approach, that may have very undesirable consequences. It may very well hand a trump card — or may even have already handed it — to those who are urging the Bosnian Serbs not to accept the peace plan, and to prosecute the war on to victory. We are in any event convinced that that approach does not enhance the Council's options in its efforts to achieve a political settlement. The sad thing is that this is taking place right at this present critical moment, when we are all justifiably feeling profound alarm over the future course of events in the region of the former Yugoslavia.

We would like to hope that in future the Security Council will be able to offer a more responsible political approach in its decisions guided not by the considerations of the moment, but by the interests of achieving a comprehensive, lasting and truly just settlement in the former Yugoslavia.

The President: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) *(interpretation from Chinese):* Mr. President, first of all, the Chinese delegation welcomes you as you join us to guide the meeting of the Security Council this afternoon. We believe your vitality and excellent skills and wisdom will lead us to the smooth conclusion of this afternoon's meeting. To you and to Ambassador Kovanda, we would like to express our thanks for the contribution made to the work of the Security Council by the Czech delegation.

The Chinese delegation also wishes to express its shock at the recent tragic event in Oklahoma City. We would like, through Ambassador Albright, to extend our condolences to the Government and people of the United States on the loss of life in the explosion.

The report of the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), transmitted by the Secretary-General to the Security Council, states that the Mission enjoys freedom of movement and good cooperation from the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in implementing its mandate, that the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia continues to fulfil its commitment to closing its border with Bosnia and Herzegovina, and that there have been no commercial transshipments across that border. We welcome this development and believe that it should be the basis for our consideration of the draft resolution before us.

We have all along advocated a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and have been against the introduction of sanctions or mandatory measures in this connection, for facts have proved that

sanctions or pressure will in no way help resolve any issue, but rather will further complicate and perpetuate it.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is an important factor for restoring peace and stability in the region of the former Yugoslavia. Its Government has facilitated and supported the Mission in many ways in the discharge of its duties, and has taken measures to effectively close its border with Bosnia and Herzegovina. The purpose of the efforts made by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in implementing Security Council resolutions 943 (1994) and 970 (1995) is to urge the Bosnian Serbs to accept the peace plan. The international community should continue to give encouragement, not discouragement, to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for its continued fulfilment of its commitment to closing its border and making further efforts to bring peace to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Regrettably, though the draft resolution before us has further extended the provisions for easing sanctions set forth in resolution 970 (1995), it has not only shortened the period of extension but also attached more restrictive conditions to it, which is apparently a step backward from resolutions 943 (1994) and 970 (1995). Furthermore, the reasonable suggestions we made on the draft resolution were not accepted.

Due to the aforementioned situation and based on our principled position on sanctions, we shall have to abstain on the draft resolution before us.

The long absence of a solution to the question of the former Yugoslavia has brought tremendous suffering to the people in the region. It is also jeopardizing peace and stability in Europe and the world as a whole. We are deeply concerned over the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and strongly urge the parties concerned to restart at an early date peaceful negotiations for a solution acceptable to all by taking into account the fundamental interests of the people there. We also deem it imperative for the countries in the region to recognize each other and coexist in amity and good-neighbourliness. This will help bring an early end to the conflict and war in the region, which will be in conformity with the long-term interests of the countries in the region and contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability in Europe, as well as in the rest of the world.

The President: I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/319.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

China, Russian Federation

The President: There were 13 votes in favour, none against and 2 abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 988 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): Let me say, Mr. President, on behalf of my Government, that we are delighted that you are chairing this very important meeting, and, on my own behalf, that it is a very great pleasure to see a very good personal friend in the Chair.

I also would like to thank, on behalf of my Government, the members of the Council for their statements of condolence and support today, and specifically the very personal reflections of Ambassador Sacirbey. As President Clinton has said, the United States is determined that the perpetrators of the outrageous and cowardly attack in Oklahoma City shall be brought to justice. Our thoughts and prayers are with the victims and their families. Although we do not know the motives of those who committed this heinous crime, we do know that it bore the senseless, brutal and indiscriminate stamp of terrorism. Few of the countries represented here have not, at one time or another, been its victims. The tragedy should reinforce our common determination to forge a world where those who obey the law are secure and those who commit outrages against it are brought to heel.

We deeply appreciate the offers of assistance from other Governments. At this time, our officials in Oklahoma believe that they do have sufficient resources. However, if a need arises, we will be in contact with the

Governments concerned. On behalf of the people of the United States, I thank all members for this demonstration of concern for the victims of this crime. On behalf of us all, I urge renewed commitment to the rule of law and civility in human affairs.

I recall the cautious optimism that went into our initial decision to ease sanctions in response to Serbian President Milosevic's announced willingness to close his borders with the Serb-controlled areas of Bosnia. I recall, too, the greater realism that characterized our work in January, when we acknowledged progress made and worked to remedy weaknesses in the border closure regime. In these exercises, and in the monthly reviews of the situation, my Government has welcomed successes, but we have also been frank about shortcomings in implementation. My Government has made our concerns known to other members of this Council, to the authorities in Belgrade and to the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) monitoring Mission. The United States believes that Belgrade has not done enough to comply with its commitment to isolate the Bosnian Serbs. That is why we could not have supported a resolution that represented "business as usual".

For the past 200 days, as now, we have supported and encouraged the excellent work of the ICFY Mission and have contributed to strengthening its capabilities. If we are to ensure that the closure of the border is as comprehensive as President Milosevic said it would be, we have no stronger instrument than a fully staffed and fully funded ICFY Mission. We therefore strongly encourage all Member States to increase their support for this important Mission.

The resolution we have just adopted is designed to acknowledge progress, but even more important, it is intended to close remaining loopholes. This Council must be prepared to take steps to bolster enforcement and signal to the Serb authorities that we expect them to live up to what they claim is a shared objective — absolute closure of the border, except for those instances and items which the Council has explicitly exempted. The resolution we have just voted on is straightforward. Belgrade must close the land and air border with Bosnia and not seek to circumvent the closure of that border by illegally shipping goods through Serb-controlled parts of Croatia. The United States was prepared to block adoption of this resolution if these steps to tighten the border closure were not included.

During the 75-day period leading up to 5 July we will watch closely to see if Belgrade improves compliance with its commitment to close the border. We urge the ICFY monitoring Mission, the Co-Chairmen of the ICFY Steering Committee and the Secretary-General to implement fully paragraphs 13 and 15 of this resolution. It is up to them to make sure that the Council's decisions are more than words on pieces of paper.

We need also to remind ourselves that the border closure is not an end in itself. Our objective remains what it has always been: to persuade the Pale Serbs that their interests, and the interests of the people who suffer under their misguided leadership, are not served by continuing intransigence. The border closure has had some effect on the Pale Serbs, but its political goal, Pale's acceptance of the Contact Group plan and map, seems as remote today as it did six months ago. Nevertheless, we must be hard-headed, patient and persistent in keeping up the pressure on the Pale Serbs. Similarly, the authorities in Belgrade should understand that suspension of additional sanctions will depend on their willingness to take further steps towards peace, most notably by recognizing the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina within their internationally recognized borders.

Let me also say a word about the performance of the United Nations peace-keeping forces in these tragic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. Members of the Security Council must keep in mind that our credibility, and that of this Organization, depends on our willingness to respond to provocations. The United Nations forces on the ground have faced continuous challenges, now perhaps more difficult than ever. My Government appreciates the sacrifices they have made and the good they do. We are also prepared to support measures that would enhance the ability of those forces to defend themselves and to carry out their mandate with greater effect.

In closing, let me say that the United States insisted that a message be sent by today's action. The message is clear: when it comes to sanctions relief, this Council must remain vigilant to ensure that Belgrade is vigilant in delivering on its promises. Our few successes in Bosnia have come from our firmness and resolve, not from a willingness to give Belgrade the benefit of the doubt.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words she addressed to me.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of France would like to welcome you,

Sir, to the Security Council. It is delighted that this meeting is taking place under your presidency.

My delegation would also like to associate itself with all those who have expressed their sympathy with the United States Government over the terrible bombing that claimed so many inhabitants of Oklahoma City as its victims.

My delegation welcomes our Council's adoption of the resolution extending the suspension of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Like many other members of the Council, France was called upon to make a difficult choice, which it did on the basis of a number of considerations.

Firstly, we are convinced that the mechanisms now in place to monitor the closure of the frontier between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina are, overall, achieving the objectives they were set up to achieve. In this regard, we do have confidence in the reports by the Co-Chairmen and in the work of the observer Mission, which is unfortunately restricted by a lack of material and financial means. We reaffirm that the best way of improving the Mission's operation is by increasing the resources allocated to it and by increasing the number of observers too.

At the same time, we recognize that the authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as the latest report by the Co-Chairman states and the resolution picks up, have demonstrated that they are cooperating and have provided the necessary assistance to the activities of the observer Mission; this is essentially why my delegation wished to extend the suspension of sanctions.

Secondly, a number of steps have proved useful in plugging the gaps resulting from the shortfalls we have noted in the field, the most striking examples of which are the helicopter flights — where there is an inquiry now under way — and the sidestepping of the frontier closure by passing goods for Bosnia and Herzegovina by way of Croatian territory, which is why a part of the resolution includes a strengthening of the existing measures. This strengthening, in our view, is not such as to cast doubt on the degree of cooperation being afforded by the Belgrade authorities, but does respond to the loopholes that have been shown up by experience.

I should like to stress that, even if the length of the extension of the sanctions suspension has been cut back, the cutback is still small in scale. My delegation would have had no problem with going back to the period set in previous resolutions, and accepted the time-frame in the resolution in a spirit of compromise, which seemed to us to be the only way of achieving in the Council a result that we think is on the whole positive.

We therefore call on the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to accept the resolution in the same spirit that should inspire us all, namely, keeping alive the peace process's chances of success.

Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany): It is a pleasure to welcome you today, Mr. Deputy Foreign Minister, to the Council and to see you in the President's chair.

I too wish to extend our condolences to the Government of the United States and to the families of those who died in the terrible explosion in Oklahoma City.

Let me begin by expressing the gratitude of my Government to the members of the Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY). The Mission plays an essential role in monitoring the closure of the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which closure is the subject of the resolution just adopted by our Council. We are fully aware that the Mission is working under extremely difficult conditions. My Government hopes that, in keeping with today's resolution, Member States will provide the ICFY Mission with additional material and financial support.

This is the second time that the Security Council has taken a decision to continue the limited sanctions relief originally extended to Belgrade under resolution 943 (1994). In order to do so, the Council needed to determine whether the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was continuing to implement the closure of its border with the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The reports received from the Co-Chairmen of the ICFY indicate that the Belgrade authorities are continuing to cooperate with the Mission. Based on the information available to them, the Co-Chairmen conclude that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is continuing to meet its commitment regarding border closure.

However, the reports also note a number of serious violations and presumed violations of the border regime. Indeed, the last two certifications contain an important

of particular concern to my Government. In addition, we have become increasingly concerned about circumvention of the border regime by way of Serb-controlled areas in the Republic of Croatia.

Today's resolution, while extending the suspension of certain sanctions, is designed to address these problems. The question of helicopter flights will be the subject of a thorough investigation and a report to the Council. The Secretary-General will also submit a report on ways to improve the effectiveness of the border regime. The continued suspension of sanctions is now tied to preventing diversions of goods through the Republic of Croatia to areas under the control of Bosnian Serb forces.

Finally, in light of the problems during the period just past, the duration of the suspension has been curtailed. However, the authorities in Belgrade can count on further renewals of the suspension if they comply with the provisions of the resolution.

I should like to underline that Belgrade can expect additional sanctions relief if it moves beyond an effective border closure and extends its full support to the approach pursued by the Contact Group. We call on the authorities in Belgrade to accept mutual recognition of the successor states of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and work with the international community to bring an end to the conflict in the Republic of Croatia.

As regards the leadership in Pale, we hope that it will finally recognize that it must return to the negotiating table. It must accept the Contact Group's peace plan as a starting point. The Bosnian Serb leaders will not improve their position by procrastinating: instead, they will increase the sufferings of the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina together with the sufferings of the rest of the Republic's civilian population.

Germany believes that the pressure on Pale must be maintained in order to achieve an overall settlement of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. My Government remains convinced that a peaceful settlement can be achieved. That is why we appeal, once again, to the Bosnian parties to extend without further delay the agreements on a cease-fire and a complete cessation of hostilities.

The President: I thank the representative of Germany for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Fulci (Italy): Allow me to begin, Sir, by addressing to you a warm welcome from my delegation and our best wishes on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council today. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank your Government for having sent to the United Nations such a fine and able diplomat, Ambassador Karel Kovanda, who has presided so efficiently and impartially over our deliberations since the beginning of April.

The resolution adopted today by the Security Council extends the suspension of certain — largely symbolic — sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) in the areas of civil aviation and cultural and sports events until 5 July 1995.

This resolution seems to us the logical and natural consequence of the four reports by Co-Chairmen Owen and Stoltenberg on the monitoring activity of the Mission of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) along the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina over the past 100 days. All four reports take note of the freedom of movement the Mission has enjoyed in Yugoslav territory, the collaboration offered by the Belgrade authorities and, above all, the fact that the Belgrade Government has continued to honour its commitment to keeping closed the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the areas of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina currently controlled by the Bosnian Serbs.

That said, we cannot ignore the reports in recent months of helicopter flights across the border. In this regard, paragraph 8 of the resolution underlines the important need for a thorough investigation of the matter and requests the cooperation of the Belgrade authorities and a report of the Secretary-General in this connection.

Neither can we ignore reports that goods could have been diverted from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to the Bosnian Serbs through the Serb-controlled areas of Croatia. This is why in paragraph 13 the Secretary-General is asked to report whether the Co-Chairmen of the ICFY have received substantiated evidence of such diversions. Furthermore, paragraph 15 provides for an end to the suspension if that should be proved to be the case. Frankly, we believe it is in the interest of the Belgrade authorities that their good faith be proved.

It is equally essential that the size and operative capacity of the ICFY Mission be strengthened in order to guarantee a more effective monitoring of the border, in particular with regard to the possibility of illegal helicopter crossings. A serious commitment by the international community to reinforcing the Mission, which is performing such an important, difficult and delicate task, could thus help to remove the existing climate of doubts and suspicions.

Finally, I should like to recall once more that in my Government's opinion the role that the Belgrade Government can play in the framework of the peace process is important, because that Government can exert its influence on the Bosnian Serbs, whose obstinate rejection of the peace plan continues to be a major obstacle. In a difficult period such as the present one, with so many factors that are still unknown, and on the eve of the expiration of the cease-fire agreement in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we believe that Belgrade's role continues to deserve encouragement and incentives.

I would be remiss if I concluded without echoing in the Council the feeling of shock and horror provoked in Italy by the cowardly terrorist attack perpetrated two days ago in Oklahoma City. Through you, Mr. President, I wish to extend sincere condolences and deep sympathy to our American colleague, Ambassador Albright, and her delegation.

The President: I thank the representative of Italy for his kind words addressed to my delegation.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): My delegation would also like warmly to welcome you to the Council, Mr. President, and take the opportunity of your presence to express our appreciation of your country's presidency of the Council in what has been a very busy month so far.

The United Kingdom also expresses its shock and sympathy with the United States over the bomb outrage in Oklahoma. We echo entirely Ambassador Albright's words about the universality of terrorism, which calls for a united condemnation and response.

No one, certainly not the British Government, is happy with the state of discussions on the peace process in the former Yugoslavia. But there have been two important gains over the last year. First, there has been the establishment of the Bosnian Federation, which my Government regards as an essential building block towards an overall settlement. Secondly, the isolation of the Bosnian Serbs as a result of their refusal to accept the Contact Group plan has been confirmed, in particular by the decision of the Belgrade authorities to close their border with Bosnian Serb-held territory. Central to the international community's response to the Belgrade authorities' decision was the establishment of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY) Mission to monitor this closure.

These two developments have brought benefits, but both need to be nurtured and developed further if the Bosnian peace process is to move forward. Closure of the border between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and Bosnia has had an economic, military and political impact upon Pale. This closure must be maintained and intensified — not only by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) authorities but also by the Bosnian and Croatian Governments — to ensure that trade diversion, whether by land or by sea, is stopped. The Bosnian Serb leadership must understand that there is no alternative to resuming peace negotiations, with the Contact Group plan as the starting point.

The ICFY Co-Chairmen have reported that the border is generally closed and that cooperation with the Belgrade authorities remains good. My Government fully endorses that assessment and has the fullest confidence in the work of the Co-Chairmen and of the ICFY Mission. We are grateful for their efforts.

There are two important issues that now need to be addressed without delay. The first is to ensure that border closure is really tight; in this connection, we are particularly concerned about reports of cross-border helicopter flights. The second is to reinforce the ICFY Mission so that it is able to continue carrying out its task effectively.

As far as helicopter flights are concerned, my Government has made personnel available to participate in a team which will shortly begin the detailed analysis of available data and thereafter report authoritatively. We must be clear as to whether serious breaches of the border closure are occurring, over it, in the air. Such breaches would be unacceptable.

As for reinforcing the ICFY Mission, it is essential that the international community provide the necessary finance, manpower and equipment. We remain concerned over the Mission's continued financial crisis, which has necessitated a reduction in its strength. My Government

wants to see a fully financed ICFY Mission with its strength increased to 250 personnel. Denying the Mission the support it needs serves only to undercut efforts to bring about a settlement in Bosnia. We hope that other Governments will join the United Kingdom in responding to the Mission's urgent need for resources, and that they will bring forward the timing of their contributions.

A limited suspension of sanctions remains in our view the appropriate response to Belgrade's cooperation to date. The renewal of this suspension is justified. Furthermore, it is right to use sanctions flexibly and imaginatively to encourage initiatives in the interests of securing a peaceful settlement. The fact is that the status quo in Bosnia is not acceptable or sustainable and that United Nations peace-keeping forces cannot be expected to remain there forever, in the absence of progress towards a political settlement and if there is not the requisite degree of cooperation from the parties. Additional sanctions relief would be justified only if the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) made further commitments to advancing the peace process. The Council should support the Contact Group's efforts to persuade Belgrade to take these steps immediately.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for the kind words he addressed to my delegation.

I shall now make a statement in my national capacity.

First, on behalf of the Czech Republic and its Government and people, I wish to join all those who have expressed their sorrow and sympathy to Ambassador Albright and the American people in connection with the terrorist bombing in Oklahoma City.

I turn now to the matter at hand.

On balance, the Czech Republic views the results of the operations of the ICFY Mission in the former Yugoslavia as successful. This balance is determined by a mix of technical and political considerations.

Reports of the ICFY Co-Chairmen of the last 100 days all contain one main message: the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is continuing to meet its commitment to closing the land border with Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is a major chord. In addition, though, there are worrisome undertones.

Some of these have to do with the situation on the border. Borders cannot perhaps be sealed hermetically, but they should not be too porous. The phantom helicopter flights are also troubling. The rupture of telecommunications contacts with Pale that the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had instituted was welcome, and we encourage them to resume those contacts. These and other aspects are addressed in the resolution we have just adopted.

Some other of these worrisome undertones, however, have to do with the Mission itself — including its critical financial situation, with the attendant need to decrease its size.

We feel the ICFY Mission is doing a terrific job, given the resources it has at hand, even if the political position of Pale has hardly shifted during the period of its operation. Keeping up the pressure on Pale and continuing to recognize Belgrade's cooperation by maintaining the regime of abated sanctions, first enacted in resolution 943 (1994), is the best way ahead. In fact, my delegation would have preferred an extension of this regime significantly beyond the 5 July deadline we have now adopted — both for technical and for financial reasons, but also because we do feel Belgrade is substantively cooperating.

However, as we adopt another resolution on the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, let us not lose sight of the big picture. This resolution, with the continuing abatement of the sanctions, and the functioning of the ICFY Mission are only tools, instruments, in an effort to get the Bosnian Serbs, the most recalcitrant party to the conflict, to accept the Contact Group peace plan. And even this peace plan is only an instrument to bring about peace and normalcy in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We will have to take many more such small, partial steps — many of which will turn out not to have any effect at all — before we attain the final objective.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

There are no further names on the list of speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3523

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3523rd Meeting
Monday, 24 April 1995, 4 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Kovanda	(Czech Republic)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Zawels
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Casardi
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Haiti (S/1995/305)

95-85339 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 4.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The question concerning Haiti

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Haiti (S/1995/305)

The President (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Haiti, document S/1995/305.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1995/306, which contains the text of a letter dated 7 April 1995 from the Permanent Representatives of Argentina, Canada, France, the United States of America, and Venezuela to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the members of the Council:

"The Security Council welcomes the transfer of responsibilities from the multinational force (MNF) to UNMIH that took place on 31 March 1995 and shares the Secretary-General's view, as stated in his report of 13 April (S/1995/305), that this transfer was a milestone in the overall efforts of the international community to bring peace and stability to Haiti. The Council commends the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the MNF Force Commander and the other dedicated personnel of the United Nations and MNF who made the transition possible.

"The Security Council notes, however, that much remains to be done to institutionalize democracy in Haiti and reiterates the Secretary-General's call for the people of Haiti and their leaders to help UNMIH help them. While UNMIH's presence will assist the Haitian Government to sustain a secure and stable environment, the existence of a functioning and fair justice system and the early deployment of a permanent and effective police force by the Haitian authorities are central to Haiti's long-term stability. The Council joins the Secretary-General and Friends of Haiti in inviting Member States to make voluntary contributions to support the international police monitoring programme and assist with the creation of an adequate police force.

"The Government and people of Haiti bear the primary responsibility for Haiti's political, economic and social reconstruction. However, the Security Council notes that the sustained commitment of the international community is indispensable for long-term peace and stability in Haiti.

"The Security Council shares the opinion of the Secretary-General that the issue of security is central to the entire United Nations operation in Haiti.

"The Security Council underlines the crucial importance of free, fair and secure elections for the democratic future of Haiti. The Council stresses the necessity of a secure environment in Haiti, including during the June and July legislative and local election period, and underlines the importance of a functioning police force and an established judicial system. The Council urges the Government of Haiti to take all necessary steps to ensure the success of the elections, and in particular to register as many voters as possible prior to the elections and to assure, in cooperation with the international community, that political campaigning occurs in an environment free from partisan intimidation.

"The Security Council welcomes President Aristide's meetings with leaders of political parties and members of the Provisional Electoral Council and stresses the importance of dialogue with a view to achieving the political consensus needed to enhance the benefits and credibility of the electoral process. The Council also calls on the Government of Haiti to cooperate fully with the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) to ensure that the preparations for elections and the elections themselves can take place in a secure and stable environment. Consistent with the objectives of Security Council resolution 940 (1994), the Council emphasizes the importance for the Presidential

elections to take place on schedule before UNMIH's scheduled withdrawal in February 1996.

"Finally, the Security Council welcomes the Secretary-General's decision to coordinate UNMIH's peace-keeping mission with development activities carried out by others, in a manner consistent with UNMIH's mandate, to help the Government of Haiti strengthen its institutions, particularly the judicial system. The Council hopes this coordination will promote closer cooperation of all concerned in Haiti as well as improve the effectiveness of international support for rebuilding Haiti's economy."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/20.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3524

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3524th Meeting

Monday, 24 April 1995, 4.55 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Kovanda	(Czech Republic)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Zawels
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Casardi
	Nigeria	Mr. Ayewah
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Establishment of an international tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens responsible for such violations committed in the territory of neighbouring States

Establishment of the list of candidates for Judges on the International Tribunal for Rwanda

95-85345 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 4.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Establishment of an international tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and Rwandan citizens responsible for such violations committed in the territory of neighbouring States

Establishment of the list of candidates for Judges on the International Tribunal for Rwanda

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/1995/325, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultation.

The following list of names will be added to the operative part of the draft resolution contained in document S/1995/325 in its provisional form: Aspegren, Lennart, of Sweden; Haugh, Kevin, of Ireland; Kama, Leity, of Senegal; Khan, T.H., of Bangladesh; Mainga, Wamalungwe, of Zambia; Ostrovsky, Yakov A., of the Russian Federation; Pillay, Navanethem, of South Africa; Razafindralambo, Edilbert, of Madagascar; Sekule, William H., of the United Republic of Tanzania; Stoltz, Anne Marie, of Norway; Toman, Jiri, of the Czech Republic and Switzerland; Williams, Lloyd G., of Jamaica and Saint Kitts and Nevis.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 989 (1995).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 5 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3525

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3525th Meeting

Wednesday, 26 April 1995, 1.10 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Kovanda	(Czech Republic)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Zawels
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Terzi di Sant'Agata
	Nigeria	Mr. Uhomoibhi
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Browne
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation relating to Nagorny Karabakh

95-85351 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 1.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation relating to Nagorny Karabakh

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Azerbaijan in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Azimov (Azerbaijan) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to documents S/1995/249 and S/1995/321, which contain the texts of letters dated 30 March and 20 April 1995 from the Permanent Representatives of the Russian Federation and Sweden to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the reports S/1995/249 and S/1995/321 of the Co-Chairmen of the OSCE Minsk Conference on Nagorny Karabakh presented in accordance with paragraph 8 of its resolution 884 (1993). It expresses its satisfaction that the cease-fire in the region agreed upon on 12 May 1994 through the mediation of the Russian Federation in cooperation with the OSCE Minsk Group has been holding for almost a year.

"At the same time, the Council reiterates the concern it has previously expressed at the conflict in and around the Nagorny Karabakh region of the Azerbaijani Republic and at the tensions between the Republic of Armenia and the Azerbaijani Republic. In particular, it expresses its concern at recent violent incidents and emphasizes the importance of using the mechanism of direct contacts for the settlement of incidents as agreed upon on 6 February 1995. It strongly urges the parties to the conflict to take all necessary measures to prevent such incidents in future.

"The Council reaffirms all its relevant resolutions, *inter alia* on the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States in the region. It also reaffirms the inviolability of international borders and the inadmissibility of the use of force for the acquisition of territory.

"The Council reiterates its full support for the efforts of the Co-Chairmen of the Minsk Conference to assist in conducting speedy negotiations for the conclusion of a political agreement on the cessation of the armed conflict, the implementation of which will eliminate major consequences of the conflict for all parties, *inter alia* ensuring withdrawal of forces, and permit the convening of the Minsk Conference.

"The Council stresses that the parties to the conflict themselves bear the main responsibility for reaching a peaceful settlement. It stresses the urgency of concluding a political agreement on the cessation of the armed conflict on the basis of the relevant principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the OSCE. It strongly urges those parties to constructively conduct negotiations without preconditions or procedural obstacles and to refrain from any actions that may undermine the peace process. It emphasizes that the achievement of such an agreement is a prerequisite for the deployment of a multinational OSCE peace-keeping force.

"The Council welcomes the decision of the Budapest summit of the CSCE of 6 December 1994 on the 'Intensification of CSCE action in relation to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict' (S/1995/249, Appendix). It confirms its readiness to provide continuing political support, *inter alia* through an appropriate resolution regarding the possible deployment of a multinational OSCE peace-keeping force following agreement among the parties for cessation of the armed conflict. The United Nations

also stands ready to provide technical advice and expertise.

"The Council underlines the urgency of the implementation by the parties of confidence-building measures, as agreed upon within the Minsk Group on 15 April 1994, in particular in the humanitarian field, including the release of all prisoners of war and civilian detainees by the first anniversary of the cease-fire. It calls upon the parties to prevent suffering of the civilian populations affected by the armed conflict.

"The Council reiterates its request that the Secretary-General, the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE and the Co-Chairmen of the OSCE Minsk Conference continue to report to the Council on the progress of the Minsk process and on the situation on the ground, in particular, on the implementation of its relevant resolutions and on present and future cooperation between the OSCE and the United Nations in this regard.

"The Council will keep the matter under consideration."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/21.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3526

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3526th Meeting

Thursday, 27 April 1995, 4 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Kovanda	(Czech Republic)
Members:	Argentina	Mrs. Cañas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	Germany	Mr. Rudolph
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Terzi di Sant'Agata
	Nigeria	Mr. Ohumoibhi
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Bakuramutsa
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mrs. Albright

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1995/297)

Third report of the Secretary-General on security in the Rwandese refugee camps (S/1995/304)

95-85357 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 4 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1995/297)

Third report of the Secretary-General on security in the Rwandese refugee camps (S/1995/304)

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members have before them the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, which is contained in document S/1995/297, and the third report of the Secretary-General on security in the Rwandese refugee camps, which is contained in document S/1995/304.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/1995/310, which contains the text of a letter dated 13 April 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council has considered the Secretary-General's progress report on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) (S/1995/297, of 9 April 1995) and his third report on security in the Rwandese refugee camps (S/1995/304, of 14 April 1995), as well as the oral briefings from the Secretariat on the tragic events on 22 April 1995 at the Kibeho camp for internally displaced persons.

"The Security Council condemns the killing of numerous civilians in the camp and is encouraged by the decision of the Government of Rwanda to carry out a full investigation of these events without delay and to bring to justice those responsible. In this regard it welcomes the decision of the Rwandese authorities to establish an independent inquiry with United Nations and other international participation to carry out this investigation of the events. The Council also requests the Secretary-General to report to it, without delay, on these events and on the role of UNAMIR.

"The Security Council is concerned by the generally deteriorating security situation in Rwanda. It underlines that the Government of Rwanda bears primary responsibility for maintaining security throughout the country and for the safety of internally displaced persons and returnees, as well as for ensuring respect for their basic human rights. In this context it reaffirms the need for coordination between the Government of Rwanda and UNAMIR and other agencies on these matters. The Council does, however, note with satisfaction that the Government of Rwanda has in previous months made considerable efforts directed at national reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction, which are of crucial importance. The Council calls on the Government of Rwanda to intensify these efforts and on the international community to continue to support those efforts, in order to bring about a climate of trust and confidence which would assist in the early and safe return of refugees. In this context, it underlines the importance it attaches to demining, including the United Nations proposal.

"The Security Council notes with deep concern disturbing reports of increased incursions into Rwanda from neighbouring countries, allegations of arms shipments into the Goma airport and of elements of the former Rwandese Government forces being trained in a neighbouring country. It calls upon all States, especially those neighbouring Rwanda, to refrain from any action that would further exacerbate the security situation in that country and to prevent incursions into Rwanda from their own territories. The Council invites States and organizations which have information on the transport of arms into countries neighbouring Rwanda for the purpose of their use in Rwanda in contravention of resolution 918 (1994) to pass that information to the Committee established under resolution 918 (1994) and requests the Committee to consider that information as a matter of urgency and to report thereon to the Security Council.

"The Security Council notes with satisfaction that the deployment of the Zairian Camp Security

Contingent and the Civilian Security Liaison Group has had a positive effect on the security situation in refugee camps in Zaire.

"The Security Council pays tribute to all members of UNAMIR. It reaffirms that UNAMIR constitutes one essential factor for creating a climate of confidence and for promoting stability and security. In this context, it underlines the responsibility of the Government of Rwanda for the safety and security of all UNAMIR personnel and other international staff serving in the country. It urges the Rwandese authorities to proceed with the exchange of letters supplementing the agreement on the status of UNAMIR and its personnel, reflecting the changes in UNAMIR's mandate following from Security Council resolution 918 (1994). The Council calls for increased cooperation and collaboration between the Government of Rwanda, its neighbouring countries and UNAMIR as well as other agencies, including in the humanitarian field.

"The Security Council expresses grave concern at the situation created by the overcrowded prisons in Rwanda which has resulted in the death of numerous persons in custody and requests the Secretary-General to consider urgently measures which could be taken quickly in conjunction with the Government of Rwanda and humanitarian agencies to improve the conditions of those in detention or under investigation. The Council emphasizes that the development of the Rwandese justice system continues to be an important factor in creating conditions of security, law and order, conducive to the return of refugees from abroad and of displaced persons to their homes. The Council calls on the international community to assist the Government of Rwanda in re-establishing the justice system as a contribution to confidence-building and the maintenance of law and order.

"The Security Council expresses its appreciation for the action of those States which have arrested and detained persons following the adoption of resolution 978 (1995). It urges States, in accordance with that resolution, to arrest and detain persons against whom there is sufficient evidence of responsibility for acts within the jurisdiction of the International Tribunal for Rwanda. It requests the Secretary-General to facilitate the rapid establishment of the Tribunal.

"The Security Council requests the Government of Rwanda to facilitate the delivery and distribution of humanitarian assistance to refugees and displaced persons in need, in conformity with the principles and current practice of UNHCR. It invites States and donor agencies to deliver on their earlier commitments and to further increase their assistance. It urges all Governments in the region to keep their borders open for this purpose.

"The Security Council appeals to all States to act in accordance with recommendations adopted in the Regional Conference on Assistance to Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in the Great Lakes Region held in Bujumbura in February 1995, in order to contribute to facilitate the return of refugees. The Council welcomes the Dar-es-Salaam trilateral agreement of 12 April 1995, on the voluntary repatriation of Rwandese refugees from Tanzania.

"The Security Council reaffirms the view that an international conference would contribute substantially to peace and security in the subregion. It welcomes the intention of the Secretary-General to carry out consultations with all concerned so that such a conference can be held at the earliest possible date.

"The Security Council will remain seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/22.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 4.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3527

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3527th Meeting

Friday, 28 April 1995, 10.40 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Kovanda	(Czech Republic)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Sersale di Cerisano
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Terzi di Sant'Agata
	Nigeria	Mr. Uhomoibhi
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Hume

Agenda

The situation in Croatia

Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 981 (1995) (S/1995/320)

95-85363 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Croatia

Report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 981 (1995) (S/1995/320)

The President: I have received a letter from the representative of Croatia in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a place at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 4 of Security Council resolution 981 (1995), document S/1995/320.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/334, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

Members have received photocopies of a letter dated 28 April 1995 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council, which will be issued as a document of the Council under the symbol S/1995/339.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 990 (1995).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 10.45 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.3528

Security Council
Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3528th Meeting
Friday, 28 April 1995, 10.45 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Kovanda	(Czech Republic)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Sersale di Cerisano
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	France	Mr. Ladsous
	Germany	Mr. Graf zu Rantzau
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Nigeria	Mr. Uhomoibhi
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Sidorov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Gnehm

Agenda

Central America: efforts towards peace

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (S/1995/220)

95-85369 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Central America: efforts towards peace

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (S/1995/220)

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Mexico, Spain and Venezuela in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Castaneda-Cornejo (El Salvador) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Valle (Brazil), Mr. García (Colombia), Mr. Tello (Mexico), Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo (Spain) and Mr. Bivero (Venezuela) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador, document S/1995/220.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1995/335, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker is the representative of Mexico. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Tello (Mexico) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Mexico is grateful for the opportunity to participate in this meeting of the Council, convened to terminate the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL).

As members of the Council know, my country devoted special attention and commitment to negotiations in the peace process for El Salvador, in which we had the honour to be a member of the Group of Friends established by the Secretary-General.

It was of special satisfaction to Mexico that the difficult negotiating process resulted in the signing of the Peace Accord at Chapultepec Castle on 16 January 1992.

As the Secretary-General rightly observes in his 24 March 1995 report to the Security Council,

> "There is much reason for satisfaction at what has been accomplished by the Salvadorans during this time. ONUSAL can take credit for having helped the Salvadorans to take giant strides away from a violent and closed society towards a democratic order where institutions for the protection of human rights and free discourse are being consolidated." (*S/1995/220, para. 68*)

ONUSAL is unquestionably one of the greatest recent achievements of the United Nations. However, as members of the Group of Friends, we share the Secretary-General's concern about those elements of the Accord that have not yet been fully implemented, while expressing our confidence that President Calderón Sol's Government will take the steps necessary to ensure that commitments will be fulfilled as soon as possible.

In that connection, we welcome the Secretary-General's decision to maintain a presence in El Salvador to verify and report upon compliance with aspects whose implementation is still pending. This marks a renewed commitment by the international community to consolidate a just and lasting peace in that Central American country.

We urge the members of the Security Council to adopt the draft resolution before them unanimously.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. García (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is pleased to address the Security Council at this meeting, at which the Council will take action on a draft resolution — which we support, and which we joined in sponsoring as a member of the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General for the peace process in El Salvador — affirming that the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) will terminate as of 30 April 1995.

"Pleased" is the least we can be, along with the other members of the international community, that an arduous 45-month process has been completed, given that El Salvador is now clearly a nation at peace and that this peace was built by the Salvadorans, with the firm support of the United Nations.

We take this opportunity to pay a sincere tribute to the people of El Salvador for having overcome the obstacles that had deprived them of peace. We want to stress the efforts made by the Salvadoran Government and by Presidents Cristiani and Calderón Sol in their tireless quest for peace and in their unswerving commitment to leading their country towards a democratic society.

We pay tribute to the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) for the vision and sincerity it displayed during the entire process of reconciliation.

We pay tribute, too, to the Secretary-General and his Special Representatives for the professional, wise and skilful manner in which they carried out their mediation and verification work.

The success of the process enables the Security Council today to end the United Nations Mission. This is a result, and the best indication, of the great importance in the maintenance of peace of having the consent of the host Government and the parties to the conflict, and of working hand in hand with them. The achievements of the Salvadoran process are also in part the result of the Organization's action to support the Salvadorans in their quest for peace and progress.

My delegation wishes also to support the points made by the Secretary-General in his letter of 6 February 1995 (S/1995/143) with respect to the advisability of retaining a United Nations office in El Salvador to assist with the fulfilment of the commitments undertaken in the Peace Accords.

I want also to emphasize that securing the path towards an open, participatory society, one enjoying full development, requires the effective completion of the process through fulfilment of commitments with respect to land transfers, human settlements, the strengthening of the National Civil Police, modernization of the justice and electoral systems, ratification of international instruments on human rights, and other matters. These are undoubtedly complex and need the full support of the whole of Salvadoran society. We are entirely confident that the Government will maintain the determination it has shown to find solutions with respect to outstanding commitments.

We underscore the importance of paragraph 4 of draft resolution S/1995/335, by which the Council would reiterate its call that States and international institutions should continue to provide assistance to the Government and people of El Salvador as they consolidate the gains made in the peace process. The international community will fully shoulder the great responsibility of continued verification of what it now a deep-rooted process by helping to deal with El Salvador's vast economic and social problems.

In conclusion, I wish to express the satisfaction of the Government of Colombia at having worked with the Secretary-General in this process through its participation in the Group of Friends, and to stress the importance of the employment of means such as these in the quest for peace.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): The next speaker is the representative of Spain. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Yáñez-Barnuevo (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In May 1991, the Security Council established the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) to monitor the agreements between the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN); ONUSAL's initial mandate was to verify the parties' fulfilment of the provisions of the San José Agreement on Human Rights. Subsequently, the Council, on the eve of the Chapultepec peace agreement at the beginning of 1992, decided to extend ONUSAL's mandate to include the whole verification process for the Chapultepec agreement too. At the same time, it terminated the mandate of the United Nations Observer Group in Central America, a large part

of whose personnel moved seamlessly over into ONUSAL.

The day after tomorrow, ONUSAL's presence in El Salvador will be over, after almost four years. However, this will not mean an end to the United Nations presence there as ONUSAL will be replaced by a United Nations office to continue verifying the elements in the peace agreements that remain to be fulfilled, in accordance with the undertaking to verify the complete implementation of the agreements reiterated on many occasions by the principal organs of the United Nations. Also, the national institution for verifying implementation of the peace accords, the National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace (COPAZ), will continue carrying out its mandate.

The withdrawal of ONUSAL, which has been a key part of the transition in El Salvador from a situation of conflict to one of peace and reconciliation, is a corollary of the progress that has been made in that country. All of us who have been involved in the Salvadoran process in one way or another can look back and wonder at the profound differences between El Salvador of a few years ago and El Salvador today. The transformations are legion, and some of them are visible at a glance: the old National Police, which was bound up with the Armed Forces and a military concept of public order, has been replaced — albeit not without problems and delays — by a new National Civil Police, which the United Nations helped set up; the FMLN, the former guerilla force, is now a political force that is fully integrated into the political and institutional life of El Salvador; and a new system to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms has been set up, with institutions such as the National Counsel for the Defence of Human Rights and a reformed Supreme Court, within a process of building and consolidating the rule of law and in conformity with the recommendations of the Commission on the Truth.

None of this means that there are no aspects that still warrant the international community's attention, if not its concern. Central amongst these elements are the land transfers and ex-combatant reintegration programmes as set out in the peace agreements, which are to be implemented fully and as quickly as possible so as not to compromise the irreversibility of the progress made. Also, the electoral reform process must be continued and completed, as must strengthening the institutions for the protection of human rights.

It is first and foremost up to the Salvadoran political and social forces, and the Salvadoran people themselves, to see to it that this process continues to a successful conclusion, and here the clear positions adopted by the President of the Republic and all the Salvadoran political forces represented in the Parliament are extraordinarily reassuring.

In their turn, the United Nations system and the international community must go on lending their efforts. Other countries, including countries in the region, have seen how the efforts made in their national reconciliation processes have meant that the international community would deem it possible to cut back the degree and scope of its assistance: this is the so-called amnesia syndrome, which can have very adverse consequences in these types of situation. We hope that this will not be the case, and that the success of the process we have gone through in El Salvador will not become the drop-off point for a slide back down into the evils that 14 years ago brought about the beginning of the conflict. As I mentioned earlier, this is basically up to the Salvadoran people and their representatives, but it does also depend in some wise on the support and attendance the Salvadorans receive from the international community.

Spain has been a member of the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General on the question of El Salvador and will continue to be so. Within the Group in previous years, as a member of the Security Council and also bilaterally, my country has been at the forefront in El Salvador, just as El Salvador has been at the forefront of the Spanish people's political awareness.

I should like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to his predecessor, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuellar, and to his representatives in the peace process, firstly Mr. de Soto and Mr. Goulding and then his representatives who have headed ONUSAL — Mr. Riza, Mr. Ramírez Ocampo and now Mr. ter Horst — along with all the United Nations personnel at Headquarters on in the field, who have carried out a very positive task to the benefit of El Salvador and also to the United Nations itself.

Amongst the personnel seconded to ONUSAL there has been a marked Spanish participation right from the outset of the operation through to its end. Since five military and eight police observers from Spain were deployed in El Salvador in December 1991, Spain has maintained a presence that peaked in 1992 with a total of 124 military and 113 police observers, or half the total number of military observers and a third of the police. Also, the presence of civilian observers in the Division

of Human Rights and in the election supervision process bear witness to Spain's commitment to this peace process.

We have turned over a page in the book of El Salvador's political history, and also one in the activities of the United Nations in favour of peace in the world. But political history and United Nations activities continue, and the book is still open for the next page. The reconciliation process in El Salvador is also a milestone of crucial importance in establishing a stable and lasting peace in Central America and on the road towards forming a region of peace, liberty, democracy and development. The agencies in the United Nations system, other international institutions and the international community as a whole must contribute now, with the same intensity with which they contributed to re-establishing peace in El Salvador, to consolidating the peace and the development of El Salvador and the region as a whole.

I should not like to finish, Mr. President, without expressing to you and your country our great satisfaction at seeing you preside over this meeting, and for welcoming the presence of my and other delegations in our own language. Nor must I fail to reiterate my delegation's complete readiness to cooperate in the tasks of this principal organ of the Organization.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Spain for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Venezuela. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Bivero (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me first to congratulate you on the way in which you have discharged your duties at the helm of the Security Council during the month of April.

The issue now before the Council is, unlike so many others, a source of particular satisfaction for our Organization. As everyone has recognized, the work of the United Nations in El Salvador has been instrumental in achieving peace in that country. The new phase that is now beginning as the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) concludes its mandate is, in our view, just as important.

Our Organization has perhaps less experience in consolidating peace. Nevertheless, its parameters for future action in El Salvador are essentially determined by the scope of the peace accords and by the degree of progress made thus far in implementing them. The parties agree on that point, and our Organization is right today to adopt the measures necessary to keep intact its verification and good-offices capacity for a reasonable additional period.

This new phase is just as important as the ones that preceded it. It requires the same level of commitment from the parties, placing on them a greater responsibility than ever in meeting all the aspirations that the peace accords signify for the Salvadoran nation.

Venezuela is pleased to have been able to contribute to these achievements as a country that is a Friend of the Secretary-General and a friend of El Salvador. Our efforts and our commitment, whatever may have been their merits or their flaws, were always guided by the hope of seeing El Salvador reconciled and its people ready to build, hand in hand, a better future for themselves.

Allow me on this occasion to pay tribute to all those, within and outside the United Nations, who gave their selfless support to overcoming one of the most serious crises in our part of the world, and to express the hope that these events will never be repeated in the Americas.

I should like to conclude by recalling words that I consider particularly relevant in the context of the United Nations new phase in El Salvador. The President of Venezuela, Mr. Rafael Caldera, in his statement to the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly, said that Venezuela desired

> "to see the United Nations displaying unflinching determination that the search for justice ... must play a key role in the building of peace.
>
> "If peace is our goal let us strive to make justice its foundation." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 12th meeting, p. 10)*

Social justice, in its broadest sense, is in essence the challenge that is involved in a full implementation of the peace accords, and support for it is the challenge facing the international community as a whole, and particularly the United Nations system.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Venezuela for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Valle (Brazil): I wish first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on having presided over the Security Council during this month of April with your well-known skills. At the same time, we express our deep appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Li of China.

The Brazilian Government has consistently and closely followed events in the sister nation of El Salvador. We have noted with satisfaction that during the unfolding of the peace process both the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) have made determined efforts to strengthen dialogue by putting aside specific demands that could have jeopardized the course of the process. The United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), to which Brazil has contributed military and police observers, has, since its establishment, reaffirmed its support for the Salvadoran peace process and has undoubtedly been instrumental in achieving progress in the consolidation of peace in El Salvador.

We wish in this regard to express our gratitude for the work of the Secretary-General; of his Special Representative, Mr. ter Horst; and of the personnel of ONUSAL, whose efforts for peace and national reconciliation we recognize as a decisive factor.

The final report submitted by the Secretary-General on ONUSAL was very realistic in recognizing that much remains to be done before considering the Salvadoran peace process as fully accomplished. Indeed, there is much reason for satisfaction at what has been achieved by the Salvadorans, but the fact that some commitments undertaken at the peace accords still require implementation constitutes a threat to the completion of the process as a whole.

The proposal of the Secretary-General to maintain a small team to perform the remaining verification and good-offices responsibilities of the United Nations after the termination of ONUSAL's mandate is a most meritorious one. Brazil, which has been witnessing the evolution of the Salvadoran peace process from its very inception, is thus honoured by being invited to continue to take part in the efforts of the United Nations towards El Salvador.

The Government of El Salvador and the groups constituting the FMLN seem willing to continue to strive for the implementation of the letter of the Chapultepec agreement and the stabilization of democratic order. Therefore, the international community has to keep lending support to the Salvadoran efforts towards peace. Of the utmost importance is the support of the international community for development-related activities, for we all know that poverty and underdevelopment are at the root of unrest and political instability.

In the words of the Secretary-General, ONUSAL is paradigmatic, and we fully subscribe to this point of view. Brazil believes that the peace process in El Salvador can be regarded as an example of the meaningful contribution the United Nations can make to a people's effort to solve problems that could affect the security of a region. It is undeniable that gigantic steps have been taken towards democratic order. For all this, the hard-working people of El Salvador continue to deserve our praise and admiration.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of El Salvador, on whom I now call.

Mr. Castaneda (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Allow me first to congratulate you, Sir, on the outstanding manner in which you have discharged your duties as President of the Security Council for the month of April. Your skills as an experienced diplomat have once again become evident in the important work accomplished by this supreme body responsible for international security. It is a particular honour for my delegation to see you, Sir, presiding over this meeting of the Security Council as it prepares to adopt a resolution on the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL).

On 30 April 1995 ONUSAL's mandate will come to an end, in accordance with resolution 961 (1994) of 23 November 1994. Therefore, we find it appropriate to make a statement as the Council prepares to consider the report (S/1995/220) of the Secretary-General dated 24 March 1995 and the report (S/1995/281, annex)

submitted by the Director of the Human Rights Division of ONUSAL, dated 18 April 1995, which surely will be the last reports that this Council will consider with respect to ONUSAL.

The United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) constitutes a successful management operation by the United Nations and a historic landmark for El Salvador and the United Nations. This experience in a founding State Member of our Organization enriches it and provides an example of the peaceful settlement of an internal and internationalized armed conflict.

In 1990 the Salvadoran war was at a crucial point. All realistic data indicated that history no longer had any place for the conflict. But the task of searching for a way to reach the necessary political solution was arduous and complicated. Two concurrent realities made it possible to find the best path: the will of both parties to forge decisively ahead towards peace and the effective, active mediation of the United Nations.

In any kind of process, especially one so complicated and delicate as the Salvadoran process, the guarantee that it will be lasting and well-aimed depends ultimately on the internal strength of the society where the process unfolds. In the case of El Salvador, the war would not have turned out as it did if circumstances within the society had not been propitious — however much international pressure had been brought to bear — and, similarly, it would be a mistake to think that an effort like the Salvadoran one could be sustained without El Salvador's own great resolve and capacity for action, however keen international vigilance might be.

The United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) was saved by the growing credibility it enjoyed with the various sectors of Salvadoran society. The initial perception that the United Nations or some of its representatives were leaning towards one side or the other was dispelled to a great extent, both because the focus was on the problems of Salvadoran society itself and because the old negotiating parties, in their capacity as such, have been fading away. The same reality placed ONUSAL in a real and perceived position of impartiality, unbound by interests or sympathies. This is its greatest capital, and it must not be wasted, for it still has to be invested in the process. We therefore commend the Secretary-General's effort and initiative to maintain a truly significant high-level presence in El Salvador, a presence capable of generating the support that circumstances call for. The success of ONUSAL and of the peace process in El Salvador is so exemplary that it deserves to be cared for as much as can possibly and responsibly be done.

On the eve of the termination of ONUSAL's mandate, even though a small, high-level verification office will remain, there is a natural concern in El Salvador, shared by various sectors, that once ONUSAL has left El Salvador it will be up to the Salvadoran institutions to take charge not only of the work of verifying compliance with the agreements, but also of looking out for the overall health of the process.

The former negotiating parties are inclined to concentrate their attention on the agreements. In a way, this leads them away from the role they played in the initial stage of the process, when it had barely taken shape. Today the concept of parties belongs to the past. The Government is no longer a party, but, rather, a manager responsible for everything; and the FMLN is, of course, no longer what it was. Neruda's famous line, "We of that time are the same ones no more", can be rightly applied here. No one in El Salvador is the same as he or she was during the war, and those intent on staying the same are fading from view, left behind.

A new timetable has been set for implementation of the few aspects of the Peace Accords still pending. What is sometimes not analysed clearly enough is that at this point, in many instances, implementation is closely linked to the efforts for institutional development that the process requires in order to continue moving ahead, as is the case with judicial and electoral reforms, which are well under way. These issues must not be seen in the narrow framework of the implementation of specific points, for this could become reductionist and risk falling into formalism. From now on, it is a matter of bringing to a proper conclusion, through the Peace Accords, the specific issues still pending — such as the granting of land to ex-combatants and landholders — and of fulfilling with a lesser sense of urgency the timetable that has been set for the more institutional aspects. One point that we always consider worth stressing is that the process is continuing to unfold and that speculation on whether or not it is reversible is a Byzantine exercise. There may well be obstacles and times of tension, but to imagine that El Salvador will return to the past is nothing more than a fantasy.

The lessons of these years have been invaluable, for both El Salvador and the world Organization. It has been shown that frank and fruitful cooperation between a small country and the most important international Organization

in the world is possible. Beyond that reality, the Salvadoran peace process is an extraordinary model in an era of profound international change.

The list of those for whom thanks are in order would be endless. I shall mention only Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretaries-General of the Organization; their outstanding colleagues Mr. Alvaro de Soto and Mr. Marrack Goulding; the Secretary-General's Representatives and heads of the ONUSAL mission, Mr. Iqbal Riza, Mr. Augusto Ramírez Ocampo and — the current head — Mr. Enrique ter Horst; the Security Council, of course, and especially the Ambassadors of the friendly countries that have most closely supported the peace process in El Salvador — Colombia, Spain, Mexico, Venezuela and the United States of America — as well as all the other countries that have made important contributions.

One chapter is coming to a close, but on turning the page a new chapter of hope begins, the chapter of the definitive institutionalization of peace in El Salvador. We are sure that in this new chapter we can continue to count on the support and understanding of the United Nations.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I thank the representative of El Salvador for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany): Nearly four years ago the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) started as a human- rights-monitoring mission in El Salvador. After the establishment of a formal cease-fire it became a multifunctional peace-keeping operation which did not limit itself to the observation of the cease-fire but included other military aspects, a police reform, land-transfer and reintegration programmes, and human rights and institution-building elements.

ONUSAL has thus been innovative and successful, successful to the extent that it can now cease to exist and can put matters in Salvadoran hands. Let us not forget that, as with all peace-keeping operations, it is primarily thanks to all Salvadorans and especially the conflicting parties that ONUSAL has been so effective. Without their firm determination to build a lasting peace, ONUSAL would not have been one of the success stories of the United Nations.

We should, however, also bear in mind that the continuous determination of all parties is essential to maintaining a firm and lasting peace and to strengthening democratic institutions. A peace-keeping operation has to come to an end at some point, and it is inevitable that the political will of the conflicting parties be put to a test, as will now be the case in El Salvador. We call upon all Salvadorans to maintain their determination to attain peace and democracy, to give the democratic institutions the chance they deserve, and to cooperate in order to fulfil the remaining commitments of the peace process. We believe that El Salvador's recent accession to international human rights instruments and the acceleration of the land-transfer programme are very encouraging signs.

We are pleased that a small team under the direction of the Secretary-General will remain in El Salvador for a limited period of time to conduct remaining verification tasks and to continue to provide good offices. Its presence is an important contribution by the United Nations to post-conflict peace-building aimed at fostering the results already obtained and assisting in further developing the peace process.

My delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before the Council.

Let me conclude by expressing the hope that ONUSAL's success will provide inspiration for many other peace-keeping operations.

Mr. Li Zhaoxing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to thank the representative of Brazil and other representatives for their friendly statements concerning my presidency of the Security Council.

The mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) will come to an end on 30 April 1995. ONUSAL, which has lasted for nearly four years, has played a significant and promotive role in bringing forward the peace process and the national reconciliation of the two parties in El Salvador, thus

being crowned as one of the success stories of the United Nations peace-keeping operations.

The experience of ONUSAL is worth summing up and drawing on in a serious manner. It is our considered view that there are four major elements for success: first, to persevere in the peaceful settlement of conflicts through negotiation and dialogue; secondly, to stick to the agreement once it is reached; thirdly, to strive to achieve national reconciliation and turn conflicting parties into partners of cooperation; and, fourthly, to have the full support of the international community, including the Security Council. Of the four elements, national reconciliation is fundamental. Outside help will be of no use if the internal cause is not brought into full play. The political will for peace of the parties in El Salvador is the solid basis for the settlement of the conflict in El Salvador. This is also the prerequisite for ONUSAL's success. There is an old saying in China that "Having survived the disaster, the brothers transcend their own hatred with a smile". In March this year, when I was President of the Security Council, the Ambassador of El Salvador and the representative of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) came to see me, shoulder to shoulder. They briefed me on the implementation of the Peace Accords and expressed their common desire for the Security Council to continue to support the peace process in El Salvador. This vivid example still remains fresh in my mind.

After the withdrawal of ONUSAL the peace process in El Salvador will enter a new era. At this critical juncture the international community, including the United Nations, should continue to offer a helping hand. In this connection, we support the proposal by the Secretary-General that the United Nations maintain an appropriate political presence in El Salvador for the purpose of verifying the continued implementation of the Peace Accords and providing good offices. Meanwhile, we urge both parties in El Salvador to remain committed to its unswerving efforts in pursuing the implementation of the Peace Accords in all their aspects, particularly in the areas of land transfers and the reintegration programmes for ex-combatants.

The Chinese people cherishes fraternal and friendly feelings towards the peoples of Latin America and wishes to develop friendly relations of cooperation with them on the basis of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations as well as the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It is our sincere hope that all States in Latin America will realize or maintain peace and stability so as to concentrate their efforts on developing their economies and raising the peoples' living standards. Based on this position, the Chinese delegation has all along given its support to the Government, the FLMN and the people of El Salvador for their efforts to attain lasting peace and stability in their own country. We shall continue to do so in the future.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): Let me begin by expressing my delegation's sincere appreciation to the sponsors of the draft resolution, as well as the members of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), whose mandate will expire on 30 April 1995.

We recognize that since ONUSAL began its operations in 1991 many positive developments have occurred in El Salvador. For example, violations of fundamental human rights have declined markedly. Most important, ONUSAL played a crucial part in the verification of the implementation of the Peace Accords. Its accomplishments in transforming a society scarred by violence after years of civil strife and initiating a process of transition to peace and stability stand out as a premier example of the role of the United Nations in maintaining peace and security. Indeed, ONUSAL deserves our full respect for its role in assisting the people of El Salvador to stride away from a violent and closed society and towards peace and reconciliation.

In this respect, my delegation wishes to highlight the fact that among the various United Nations peace-keeping operations around the world the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) has accomplished its mission more than satisfactorily. The most important lesson learned from the Salvadoran experience is undoubtedly that reaching political agreement among the warring parties on a firm and reliable basis is a crucial element in ensuring the effectiveness and credibility of any United Nations peace-keeping operation.

Most important, the mission in El Salvador is an excellent demonstration that the role of the United Nations in furthering peace and security is not only a theoretical concept but also implementable in practice. Furthermore, the capacity for effective conflict management in El Salvador must be seen as a successful regional effort supported by the international community. This experience can provide a number of important lessons which may be extremely useful for furthering peace and stability in other countries and regions of conflict.

However, as pointed out in the report of the Secretary-General, much work remains to be done. For instance, issues such as the increase in common crime, the legitimacy and credibility of State institutions, and the role of the military, intrinsically linked to the credibility and authority of the National Civil Police, must be addressed. This will also have a great impact on the political system as a whole. We therefore believe that it is crucial for the international community to guarantee that after the dismantling of ONUSAL measures will be taken to maintain the capacity of the United Nations to verify compliance with those parts of the Peace Accords whose implementation is still pending, so that the process of building sustainable peace in El Salvador will continue. In this context, my delegation would once again like to express its support for the Secretary-General's proposal to maintain the presence of a small team in El Salvador to continue the work of the United Nations.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to pay tribute to all the personnel of ONUSAL, both military and civilian, for their dedication and perseverance and the exemplary manner in which they have carried out the mandate entrusted to them. They have spared no effort to restore hope to the people of El Salvador and consolidate peace in that war-torn country. We would also like to pay our highest respects to Mr. Enrique ter Horst, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in El Salvador, and his predecessors for their untiring efforts and contributions towards the restoration of peace and stability in that country.

We trust that the progress towards peace and reconciliation in El Salvador, in accordance with the Peace Accords, will continue and not only enable peace and reconciliation to take hold in El Salvador, but also further peace and stability in the entire region.

In the light of the foregoing considerations, we will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Legwaila (Botswana): Botswana's support for the pacific settlement of conflicts is well known. It is born out of our national traditions and experience in our part of the world. We come from a part of Africa which has hitherto been engulfed in conflict and war. The dust of conflict is just settling in Mozambique and South Africa, and Angola is still tottering towards peace. We therefore know the difference between the benefits of peace and the wretchedness of war brought about by political inequities.

The experience of the people of El Salvador is in many ways similar to ours in southern Africa. After many years of an internecine, fratricidal war of attrition, the Salvadorans have finally realized the futility of war. We are encouraged by their continued commitment to the development of a new political culture in their country based on the principles of democracy, political reconciliation and broad-based national consensus.

We would have wished that the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) had been the totally resounding success we expect all United Nations peace-keeping operations to be, but we are pragmatic enough to know that all political undertakings are often victims of human frailties. Differences and mutual suspicion can be expected after many years of conflict. It is our hope, however, that the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) will fully cooperate with the United Nations residual team which is intended to help them implement the Peace Accords to finality and ensure that the political gains made so far are not reversed.

The United Nations has nursed the people of El Salvador to the current stage in the peace process. It is now up to the people of El Salvador and their leaders to carry the peace process beyond the point where it will no longer be assailable. The international community can provide as much assistance as the country has the absorption capacity for — as the resolution we are about to adopt requests — but such assistance will be beneficial to the people of El Salvador only in conditions of peace and tranquillity. The onus for achieving durable peace and sustainable development and for avoiding a reversion to war and destruction rests with the Salvadorans themselves. The United Nations is a peace arbiter, an honest broker which is ready and willing to help the people of El Salvador in post-conflict peace-building. The Salvadorans should take full advantage of the presence of the United Nations office and resolve amicably whatever differences they still have. They owe that responsibility to themselves and to future generations of Salvadorans.

In this valedictory meeting of the Security Council on ONUSAL, the United Nations can pat itself on the back as it adds El Salvador to the list of its recent success stories in peace-keeping operations, such as Cambodia and Mozambique. We congratulate the troop contributors and the men and women of ONUSAL on a job well done, and we congratulate the Secretary-General and his staff. We also salute the men and women of

peace in El Salvador who steadfastly cooperated with the United Nations to ensure the success of the mission and the return of conditions of relative peace and stability in their country.

Mr. Uhomoibhi (Nigeria): It is not often that we have occasion to celebrate the successful conclusion of a United Nations peace-keeping operation. Today, however, El Salvador joins the small but, we hope, growing list of conflict situations where United Nations intervention has clearly made a difference in the life of troubled nations by reconciling the conflicting parties and fostering a climate of confidence and peace.

We pay tribute, therefore, to the accomplishments of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), under the authority of the Secretary-General and his successive Special Representatives, and of those States that supported the peace process.

It is worth recalling that the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador, ONUSAL, winds up its operation 45 months after the opening of the pioneering human-rights-monitoring mission that was its initial stage, and 39 months after the formal cease-fire that accompanied full deployment.

During this period the Salvadorans, including the Government and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), have taken significant strides to ensure dialogue, openness and tolerance. The parties have generally kept their commitments under extant agreements, including that on the cease-fire, in the higher interests of peace and national development.

In spite of these positive developments, following which, to borrow language from the current draft resolution, El Salvador has

> "evolved from a country riven by conflict into a democratic and peaceful nation" *(S/1995/335, fourth preambular paragraph)*,

my delegation agrees that much still remains to be done in the post-conflict era to consolidate the peace that has just been achieved, especially as certain important aspects of the Chapultepec peace agreements have still to be honoured.

It is true that the FMLN participated in the 1994 elections as a single political party, and that therefore governance, in the hands of President Calderón Sol, has been effective. But we note also that the peaceful transition to a democratic society has not gone unchallenged, and that outbursts of violence, such as that witnessed in January 1995, attest to how fragile and potentially dangerous the situation still is.

It is to be noted that the land programme as it relates to the question of human settlements continues to be a source of serious concern. In addition, the inability of the Fund for the Protection of the Wounded and War-Disabled to function, because of lack of funds, also continues to be a potential source of unrest.

In the light of these difficulties, my delegation has joined in supporting the Secretary-General's proposal for the post-ONUSAL period, already endorsed by the Security Council, for a mechanism to be established in El Salvador to continue the verification responsibilities and good-offices functions that ONUSAL has carried out to date. This accords with the sentiment expressed in the Security Council's response to "Supplement to An Agenda for Peace", adopted in February this year, that for peace-keeping operations to be truly beneficial and sustainable the United Nations must maintain a continued interest in the post-conflict peace-building phase.

Finally, we call on all States and international institutions not to flag in their support for the Government and the people of El Salvador as they consolidate the gains already made in the peace process.

As for the Salvadorans themselves, who have rightly assumed responsibility for the destiny of their country, we congratulate them and urge them to continue to work towards reconciliation and development so as to ensure that peace in El Salvador is secure and irreversible. We wish them well, and pray that never again will El Salvador appear on the agenda of the Security Council as an area of conflict.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation is grateful for the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), submitted to the Security Council in compliance with resolution 961 (1994). That resolution had extended the mandate of the Mission for a final period ending on 30 April 1995.

We are particularly grateful for the completeness and frankness of the report, whose content is of great importance to my country since Honduras and El Salvador are neighbours and brother countries.

Political and social problems in El Salvador can affect Honduras, as they have in the past, which is why this matter is of such special importance to us.

Before addressing some aspects of the report of the Secretary-General, I want to inform the Council that the thirteenth Summit conference of Central American Presidents was held recently in San Salvador itself; since the beginning of the peace process in Central America, these Presidents have worked hard to find solutions and responses to the region's severe problems, as a result of which machinery for political-economic and legal-legislative integration was established.

Thanks to these efforts, the region now boasts a Central American integration system, a Central American Parliament and a Central American Court of Justice that is blazing a trail as the first international court of its kind in the world and is working daily to improve a common market that for nearly three decades has been a model for the international community.

All this has been achieved thanks to the determination of our peoples, and with the assistance and cooperation of the international community. The presence of the United Nations in El Salvador, through ONUSAL, has also had its effect on the peace process in Central America.

In his report, the Secretary-General acknowledges that

> "There is much reason for satisfaction at what has been accomplished by the Salvadorans during this time. ONUSAL can take credit for having helped the Salvadorans to take giant strides away from a violent and closed society towards a democratic order where institutions for the protection of human rights and free discourse are being consolidated." (*S/1995/220, para. 68*)

But he also warns that

> "a number of commitments remain still to be fulfilled before the Salvadoran peace process can be pronounced a success." (*Ibid.*)

That is why, fully aware of the validity of the Secretary-General's observations, we support his suggestion that serious consideration be given to the presence of a small team to conduct the remaining verification and good-offices responsibilities of the United Nations — that is, to continue observing and assisting the peace process in El Salvador once ONUSAL's mandate has come to an end.

In the same report, an appeal is made to the Government of El Salvador to fulfil certain commitments now held up because of a lack of action or determination on the part of the Executive branch, which we hope will adopt the relevant measures in areas the Secretary-General explicitly mentions.

It should be noted that while the war continued in El Salvador that country's Government received a great deal of money in the form of economic assistance. According to the report of the Secretary-General, the Fund for the Protection of the Wounded and War-Disabled as a Consequence of the Armed Conflict is today unable to function because of lack of funds and administrative incapacity; this has given rise to tension.

We therefore urge the international community, and the Security Council in particular, not to forget Central America just because it is now on the path of peace. Now is just when the region needs resources for development and for the consolidation of democracy, lest we see a repetition of the errors of the past, which gave rise to the situation we are now trying to remedy.

My delegation unreservedly supports the machinery proposed in the report of the Secretary-General to retain a United Nations presence in El Salvador, and welcomes the cooperation that has been established there between ONUSAL and the United Nations Development Programme.

As Central Americans, we wish in conclusion to thank the Secretary-General for having said that the United Nations should remain prepared to help El Salvador in particular and, as we understand it, Central America in general. We trust that the United Nations officials remaining in El Salvador will carry out their functions with the effectiveness demanded by the situation, so that peace, freedom, reconciliation, democracy and development may be consolidated in our brother country.

For these reasons, my delegation unreservedly supports the draft resolution before the Council.

Mr. Sidorov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian Federation feels deep satisfaction at the impressive success of the peace process in El Salvador and at the completion of one of the most fruitful operations of the United Nations. The experience of this 45-month-long multifunctional operation shows that patience and persistence in seeking ways towards a

settlement and in implementing the agreements reached can resolve even the most complex and protracted conflicts. Of course, for this to occur there must be a sincere desire to achieve a stable peace, and this the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) are showing. We congratulate the people of El Salvador, and this is also a great success for the international community, and the United Nations especially.

Now what must be done is to consolidate the success that has been achieved by rendering the peace process irreversible. We rely on the parties in El Salvador to redouble their efforts with a view to fulfilling, as quickly as possible, the parts of the peace agreements that still remain to be fulfilled.

The Russian Federation attaches great importance to the fact that, within the context of the continuing United Nations presence in El Salvador after the peace-keeping operation ends, provision has been made for a combined approach to the tasks that need doing during the post-conflict peace-building stage. In this, close cooperation will be needed between El Salvador and the United Nations Development Programme, and also with the other specialized agencies of the United Nations and the international financial institutions. We hope that this cooperation will be successfully carried out.

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/1995/335.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Botswana, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman, Russian Federation, Rwanda, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*interpretation from Spanish*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 991 (1995).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Gnehm (United States of America): The resolution adopted by the Council today marks a historic step for the people of El Salvador and for United Nations peace-keeping. On 30 April, the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) will end, bringing to a close one of the most successful peace-keeping operations ever authorized by the Security Council. With the end of ONUSAL, the Security Council ends its involvement in peace-keeping in El Salvador.

Under ONUSAL's vigilance and with its assistance, the major goals set out in the 1992 Peace Accords have been accomplished. In 1994, the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) participated in free, fair and non-violent elections and is now the leading opposition party in El Salvador. The FMLN's military structure has been dismantled and its weapons destroyed.

Further, the Salvadoran Armed Forces have been reduced to one third their wartime size. The Ad Hoc Commission removed over 100 officers for their past human rights and other abuses. The Commission on the Truth investigated the most notorious crimes of the war, fixed responsibility and made recommendations to prevent such acts from reoccurring. A new police force, the National Civil Police, has replaced the paramilitary security forces. Approximately 19,000 people have received land under the accords and thousands more have received education, credit and technical training. Today, El Salvador is a country which is enjoying the first fruits of peace and reconciliation.

The end of ONUSAL's exceptional work in El Salvador is not a sign of flagging international interest but a vote of confidence that the Salvadoran people can complete the peace accords without direct international supervision. Today's resolution urges both former combating sides to accelerate their efforts towards fulfilling the accords. The Government of El Salvador and the FMLN have a solemn responsibility to implement fully the remaining chapters of the peace accord, which include that on the judicial system, the electoral system and economic and social issues.

The international community will continue to assist with these efforts. The Secretary-General has expressed his intention to establish an office in El Salvador, headed by his personal representative, to verify compliance by the parties in carrying out remaining elements of the peace accords. With the end of United Nations peace-keeping efforts in El Salvador, we hope that States Members of the United Nations will continue to support the Salvadoran people as they finish their long march towards a lasting peace.

Mr. Sersale di Cerisano (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Council has just adopted a resolution that puts an end to the United Nations operation in El Salvador. The 30th of April 1995 is the date for the conclusion of an operation that can be called successful beyond doubt. It was a multifaceted mission that combined peace-keeping, observing, human rights promotion and protection and, first and foremost, consolidation of the peace after the conflict.

Peace in the region of Central America as been strengthened through the efforts that the international community channelled into the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL). That is why this is an opportune moment to pay homage to all those men and women who have participated in this joint effort. They have carried out the mandate entrusted to them is a responsible and serious manner and in a spirit of helpfulness.

It should nevertheless be recognized that some undertakings provided for in the peace agreements have yet to be fulfilled. The small group of officials proposed by the Secretary-General will have to go on approaching the parties in their mission of good offices and verify that those areas where there has been partial progress continue to be prosecuted successfully, with the backing of the Government and of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN). Also, the international community will have to continue its involvement by reactivating the promised cooperation so that El Salvador can strengthen its democratic institutions and solve its problems of economic growth and sustainable development. In this, the programmes in the system that have operational activities — in particular the United Nations Development Programme because of its catalytic and coordinating role and the system's specialized agencies, particularly the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank — have a special role to play in the economic rehabilitation activities that characterize this phase of El Salvador's reconstruction process.

Obviously, the efforts of the United Nations will continue with the same emphasis although their focus and direction will be different. Now is a time for capitalizing on the benefits of peace and democracy for economic and social development. Also, the legal, political and economic institutions will also have to be strengthened by reaffirming the sway of human rights, boosting the professionalism of the Armed Forces and police and by giving priority to strengthening the judiciary.

Lastly, the Salvadoran people are facing a critical phase now: the key responsibility for bringing peace, democracy and development lies with the Government and people of El Salvador, and we do not doubt that this fraternal nation will more than rise to the challenge before it in this historic opportunity.

Mr. Ladsous (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation voted in favour of this resolution with very great satisfaction. It is a resolution marking the fulfilment of the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL). After Cambodia and after Mozambique, this peace-keeping operation is concluding with indisputable success.

The United Nations has enabled an end to be put to the civil war in El Salvador. It has contributed to bringing the parties closer together, to creating confidence between them and to implementing the Peace Accords signed in Chapultepec. The United Nations operation had several aspects. Beyond restoring peace and disarming the parties, the United Nations devoted itself to establishing institutions and laying down rules for democracy, enabling a revolutionary organization to become an opposition political party respectful of democratic voting procedures. The United Nations also made it possible to train a National Civil Police — a measure that has been viewed as essential in all the new peace-keeping operations. Finally, we must welcome the importance given to respect for human rights. The society in the country has been profoundly changed and El Salvador's organization last year of an international conference on the culture of peace demonstrates the far-reaching influence of the action carried out there by the United Nations. My delegation pays tribute here to all the Secretary-General's Representatives and to the entire ONUSAL team.

While the mandate is indisputably ending on a note of success, it nevertheless remains true that several provisions of the peace plan remain to be implemented and thereby contribute to the lasting stabilization of the situation. This task devolves primarily on the parties, and my Government, which welcomes the recent progress in this area, calls upon the parties to speed up the application of the Peace Accords, and particularly of certain critical points: the land-transfer programme, the reintegration of ex-combatants, the reform of the judicial system and the strengthening of the police.

The peace-keeping operation is ending the day after tomorrow, 30 April, but not the involvement of the

United Nations. El Salvador is now embarking upon a critical phase of the consolidation of peace, and the establishment of a small team entrusted with verifying the implementation of elements of the Peace Accords which have not yet been carried out and with providing its good offices is a good measure to ensure the transition. Moreover, United Nations agencies also have a pivotal role to play in the country's development.

It remains for me only to call upon the Salvadorans to take full advantage of the opportunity provided them by the United Nations action to lead their country on the road of democracy and sustainable development.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): The resolution the Security Council has just adopted marks the end of a United Nations peace-keeping operation which, since July 1991, has played a vital role in bringing El Salvador along the path to national reconciliation, peace and democracy. The United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) has shown what can be achieved with a clearly defined mandate, wide international support and the necessary political will of the parties. The British Government congratulates the Secretary-General, successive ONUSAL Heads of Mission and the dedicated personnel who have participated in the operation on a job well done.

But, above all, we congratulate the long-suffering people of El Salvador. The moderation, vision and courage shown by both sides in the sometimes difficult implementation process since the Peace Accords were signed has been critical to the success of the process, and will remain so in the future. It is as important as ever that both parties to the Accords keep that process on track to make possible the speedy completion of all elements of those Accords. We welcome the commitment made by President Calderon Sol and by the leadership of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) to full implementation.

Perhaps the most innovative contribution by ONUSAL has been in the field of human rights observance in El Salvador. ONUSAL has helped Salvadorans to consolidate the institutions needed to uphold human rights once the Mission concludes. The British Government welcomes the reduction in human rights violations since the peace process began. We remain concerned, however, that some violations have continued and we are also concerned at the recent resurgence of political violence. The Human Rights Ombudsman appointed by the Government of El Salvador will have a key role for the future. We hope he will get the full support of all political forces in El Salvador.

We welcome the Secretary-General's proposal to set up a small political team with verification responsibilities and a good-offices function. As the Council has made clear, this office does not represent a continuation of the peace-keeping mission which comes to an end this weekend. But the office will form part of a wider effort by the United Nations and the international community to consolidate the achievements of ONUSAL, to help with the rebuilding of El Salvador's institutions and to address El Salvador's development needs. My Government will continue to make a significant contribution to all these efforts.

Mr. Ferrarin (Italy): The resolution we have just adopted concludes one of the most detailed and complex peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. Over a four-year period, our Organization's direct involvement has made a fundamental contribution to the transition in El Salvador from a society plagued by violence and civil war to a new reality based on the values of democracy and respect for human rights. Italy is particularly glad to have taken part in ONUSAL from the beginning with a contingent of police observers.

Although there are still grey areas, we are convinced that some aspects of the situation that are still fragile at present can be overcome through the consolidation of democracy. We welcome the significant progress that has been made and pay tribute to the architects of this result: the political leaders of El Salvador who believed most firmly in national reconciliation, and the United Nations — the Secretary-General, his Special Representatives and all the ONUSAL personnel.

The peace process is not yet complete. Some of the agreements reached between the Government and the FMLN at Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City in 1992 have not yet been fully implemented. We take note of the Secretary-General's statement in his report dated 24 March that until there has been a complete follow-up to the commitments, the irreversibility of the process cannot be taken for granted (S/1995/220, para. 68). The United Nations will continue to maintain a presence in El Salvador. This testifies to the Organization's ongoing involvement in this delicate phase of post-conflict peace-building and, through its close ties with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), this structure will make possible an integrated approach to the complex

and interrelated problems of the country's political, economic and social development. In this regard, let me recall the efforts undertaken by my Government with a $120 million programme, over a five-year period - the PRODERE - in support of restoring stability to Central American countries, including El Salvador.

The specific task of the United Nations will be to verify compliance with the commitments made by the parties and to give an impetus to the process of national reconciliation. The Security Council will be able to continue following developments in the El Salvador situation also through the flow of information that this United Nations presence allows.

The United Nations has been a catalyst in expanding democracy in Central America. In El Salvador the Organization's first commitment was a human-rights-monitoring mission, which steadily expanded to become a multifunctional operation. Some unique characteristics of ONUSAL could serve as a model for other peace-keeping operations.

El Salvador has proved to be another United Nations success story attesting to our Organization's lasting effectiveness, particularly its capacity to develop a variety of instruments for intervention adapted to the specific characteristics of a crisis area. This is one of the reasons why the international community must continue to observe the evolution of the situation in El Salvador and must support all initiatives that can strengthen democracy.

The President *(interpretation from Spanish)*: There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.3528/Corr.1

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3528th Meeting
Friday, 28 April 1995, 10.45 a.m.
New York

Corrigenda

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Page 12, first column, line 6

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Page 12, first column, line 41 (fourth from foot)

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95-85381 (E)

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United Nations S/PV.3529

Security Council

Fiftieth Year

Provisional

3529th Meeting

Monday, 1 May 1995, 11.55 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Mérimée	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Botswana	Mr. Legwaila
	China	Mr. Zhang Yan
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Germany	Mr. Henze
	Honduras	Mr. Rendón Barnica
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Fulci
	Nigeria	Mr. Egunsola
	Oman	Mr. Al-Sameen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Rwanda	Mr. Ubalijoro
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in Croatia

95-85375 (E)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, room C-178.

The meeting was called to order at 11.55 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President *(interpretation from French):* As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of May, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute on behalf of the Council to His Excellency Mr. Karel Kovanda, Permanent Representative of the Czech Republic to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of April 1995. I am sure that I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Kovanda for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Croatia

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Croatia, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Nobilo (Croatia) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from French):* The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council is deeply concerned by the resumption of hostilities in the Republic of Croatia over the last few days.

"The Security Council demands that the Government of the Republic of Croatia put an end immediately to the military offensive launched by its forces in the area of Western Slavonia known as Sector West which started on the morning of 1 May 1995 in violation of the cease-fire agreement of 29 March 1994.

"The Security Council also demands that the parties respect the economic agreement signed between them on 2 December 1994 and, in particular, take all necessary steps to ensure the safety and security of the Zagreb-Belgrade Highway and its immediate environs.

"The Security Council urges the parties to cease hostilities and comply with the existing cease-fire agreement.

"The Security Council calls upon the parties to fully respect the safety and freedom of movement of all United Nations and European Community Monitoring Mission personnel in the area concerned, in the area known as Sector South and elsewhere, and therefore to remove all restrictions placed on United Nations personnel.

"The Security Council urges the parties, in order to achieve these objectives, to accept without delay the proposals put to them by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

"The Security Council expresses its full support to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in their efforts. The Council further requests the Secretary-General to keep it informed of developments on the ground as well as in the ongoing talks."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/1995/23.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 11.59 p.m.